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ABSTRACT

This study reports on an ethnographic investigation of a desegregated high school in Memphis, Tennessee. Processes of interracial education that occur in a desegregated school are examined in a discussion of some principles of educational stratification. The interaction of stratification and schooling in the United States is explained. The methodology of ethnographic studies is described. The character of the city and the setting are considered in terms of their effect on the general outcome of school desegregation in Memphis. Each of the school system's three subsystems (administrative, academic, student) are discussed as they affect the process of interracial schooling at "Crossover High School." In the discussion of the administrative subsystem, the differing experiences of the school under two different principals are examined. The examination of the academic subsystem reviews the climate of learning in the classroom both before and after desegregation. The section on the student subsystem focuses on extracurricular activities. The outcomes of desegregation that were witnessed at "Crossover" (including white flight) are focused on and utilized to formulate recommendations for making desegregation successful. (MC)

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STRATIFICATION AND RESEGREGATION: THE CASE OF CROSSOVER HIGH SCHOOL MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Schools in American society have faced many demands, but seemingly only recently have they been faced with a demand for which they will be held accountable. The court-mandated desegregation of schools has forced a new agendum upon a public institution that by-and-large has been free to establish its own internal agenda.

While considerable research has been conducted in desegregated school settings (see St. John 1975; Clement, Eisenhart and Wood 1976; Collins and Noblit 1976; Riffel et al. 1976; and Weinberg 1977, for recent reviews of this literature), little is known about the processes of interracial education that occur in a desegregated school. To redress this unfortunate situation, it seems apparent that ethnographic studies of desegregated schools are necessary, and recently this has been recognized by researchers in the field. St. John (1975), for example, writes:

> ...far more illuminating (than quantitative studies) would be small scale studies involving anthropological observations of the process of interracial schooling, across settings diverse in Black/white ratios and in middle-class/lower-class ratios, and also diverse in their educational philosophies and techniques (pp. 122-123).

Further, even those who have been engaged in the quantitative study of white flight resulting from school desegregation have realized that indepth studies are necessary for the formulation of educational policy to promote the desegregated schooling of our youth. Rossell (1975) notes:

> Close study of the best and worst cases, and of the intricacies of the patterns observed, might well suggest procedures and policies that can help avoid any initial loss of enrollment, and perhaps stop the loss of whites altogether from central cities (p.690).

This study, hopefully, will be able to provide information that will fill the gaps noted by St. John (1975), Rossell (1975) and others through an ethnographic investigation of a desegregated high school that is part of a city which is regarded as one of the "worst" cases in the Coleman (1976)-Pettigrew and Green (1976 a,b) debate concerning school flight.

While ethnographic research is primarily inductive in character, it is often necessary to utilize a series of "sensitizing questions" to guide initial data collection and to provide decision rules for the reduction of the masses of data which ethnographic studies provide. For this study, seven sensitizing questions were employed in this respect. They are:

1. What are the values, perceptions and attitudes of the people in the school? This question will be answered for all levels of the school--students, faculty and administration. Particular emphasis will be directed towards the racial attitudes of the various participants and how such beliefs influence the processes of the school and classroom.
2. What is the internal order and logic of the school? What is the hierarchy of power? Who are the pace setters, the cultural maximizers, the arbiters of value judgments, those who define situations for

others? What are the various roles in the school and do such roles relate to the integration issue? What are the sources of status in the school and how is status distributed? What are the assumptions about the desegregation situation held by "new comers" and "old hands"? What attempts are made to either strengthen or subvert the desegregation situation by teachers, administrators, or students?

3. Do outside forces (parents, school board members, community leaders, etc.) attempt to make their influence felt vis a vis the interracial process? Under what circumstances are they or are they not successful? More specifically, what arenas are defined by the school to be negotiable, especially in regards to intervention of parents?
4. What are the relations among the various components of the school (teaching staff, administrators, parents, students, etc) and how do such interrelations tend to confirm or come into conflict with one another with respect to issues of race and school desegregation?
5. Which groups tend to be satisfied with the school and which ones tend to be dissatisfied? What appear to be the primary sources of such satisfaction or dissatisfaction? What are the routines that perpetuate such satisfaction or dissatisfaction?

6. How could the learning environment of the school be characterized? Do students vary in their attitudes toward and participation in the intellectual life of the school? Is there evidence of differential participation in school curriculum by race or ethnicity? Does the school use tracking? What appear to be the consequences for the school, if it is used?
7. How does the school interface with the local labor market? Are there preselection mechanisms that shape differential access to the labor market and higher education? Is the interface and/or mechanisms related to the processes of interracial schooling?

These seven questions have guided the research to be reported here.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RELEVANT LITERATURE

While the seven sensitizing questions have not been differentially weighted in the conduct of this study, there is good reason to utilize the last question as a foci for a conceptual framework from which the analyses of the others can synthesize new understandings of desegregated educational settings. Educational literature, by and large, seems to have revolved around, and responded to, the school-labor market interface issue. It seems obvious that the desegregation issue itself is in direct response to labor market issues in our society. That is, the debate over equality of educational opportunity has as its primary reference point the seeming necessity of educational certification for access to the world of work. Otherwise, the issue would be primarily academic, and not a public policy issue of significance. In short, it would appear that to understand the processes of interracial schooling in a desegregated setting, a promising conceptual framework would attempt to understand the relevance of school processes to economic stratification in the larger society.

However, the development of a conceptual framework has two functions: one for theory development and one for research guidance. On the one hand, theory development requires a tight argument, logical consistency and some notion of completeness all to be accomplished in a parsimonious scheme. In this way, theories can be compared and assessed as to explanatory

adequacy. Nevertheless, social theories serve the interests of theorists and are not necessarily accurate depictions of the complexity of everyday life. That is, theories are designed to be shortcuts to understanding and as such are reductionistic. This poses a dramatic problem for the researcher who not only tests theory but wishes to more fully understand the dynamics of social processes. For the researcher who leans towards understanding over theory testing, conceptual frameworks are not to be reified. Rather they are elaborations of how things would go together if existing knowledge and sensitivities were pushed to satisfy the interests of theorists. The conceptual framework elaborated here is precisely this kind of formulation. It serves primarily the interests of theory and theorists.

As researchers, however, we know it is too simple and too tight to be an accurate description and/or analysis of the interface of school processes and economic stratification in this country. Our knowledge of everyday human action and social processes seemingly challenges the interests of theorists to develop parsimonious explanatory schemes at least at our current level of knowledge. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the juxtaposition of reductionist theory and complex qualitative data may both serve theory and a grounded understanding of human events.

Some Principles of Educational Stratification

Randall Collins (1977) has presented an intriguing analysis of educational stratification employing historical, cross-cultural

data. He argues that educational stratification is "part of a multisided struggle among status communities for domination, for economic advantage, and for presitge" (p.3). He suggests that using such a Weberian approach has dramatic advantages over both the naive and seemingly tautological functionalist analyses and the "simple" (p.3) neo-Marxist approaches.

Collins' work could be seen as a critique of our position that understanding the schools' interface with the labor market is essential to understanding desegregated schooling. However, Collins' analysis under closer scrutiny seemingly justifies our approach. His historical analysis does seem to support his concern "...with the interaction of the economic, organizational, and cultural aspects of stratification" (p.4). Nevertheless, his data suggest that an adequate analysis of education in the United States is probably better understood via a primary emphasis on the economic aspects of stratification than on the organizational or cultural aspects of stratification even though these latter aspects will be necessary to a fully adequate understanding.

To demonstrate our position let us review his discussion of the three aspects. Collins argues that three major "demands" for education, practical skills, status-group membership, and bureaucracy, correspond with Weber's three bases of stratification, class, status, and power, respectively. As such, he argues, they can be seen as indicators for the economic,

cultural and organizational aspects of stratification, again respectively.

As Collins reviews the cross-cultural, historical evidence on these "demands", the primacy of economic demands seem central to understanding education in the United States. He writes concerning the demand for practical skills:

> In the United States, for example, a formal structure surrounds elementary education, which alone among all levels of modern education bears a clear relationship to economic productivity. The more elaborate organizational form, though, must be explained by factors other than the demand for practical skills... (p.8).

He continues discussing these factors and concludes for status-group education:

> The contents of status-group education, then, vary predictably with the class situations of the groups that espouse them (p.12).

For bureaucracy, he writes"

> It is here that the recent Marxist argument--that schooling is used as a device for ensuring labor discipline and, hence, is developed by the dominant class in its interest--takes on great relevance. Clearly, this argument applies only to modern mass education, not to the elite education that characterized most premodern educational systems and that continues to comprise the elite stratum of modern educational systems. With this specification, the labor-discipline argument does find empirical support (p.20).

In short, while Collins finds the Neo-Marxist approach to be oversimplistic, insufficient to explain cross-cultural variations, and lacking as a full explanation of educational stratification, the analysis of the school-labor market interface which it concentrates upon seemingly is the correct point

at which to begin to understand the case of the United States. Note that he found the formal structure of education in the United States to be closely related to economic productivity, the substance of status-group education as varying with class situations, and the labor-discipline argument supported in the case of mass education in the United States, even though the Neo-Marxist approach does not provide a fully sufficient analysis.

Our investigation had some focus on the school-labor market interface and further had additional foci that are similar to those discussed by Collins. Consistent with Collins' Weberian approach, however, we believe an understanding of the dynamics of desegregated education must incorporate notions of bureaucracy and the "assimilative logic" that it engenders in mass education in this country, and its implications for educational and economic stratification.

The Interaction of Stratification and Schooling in the United States

Katz (1971) has argued most convincingly that the "Great School Legend," as Greer (1972) calls it, does not seem to have much historical veracity. In fact, Katz portrays the origins of public education in the United States as part of a movement to maintain Protestantism over Catholicism as the dominant form of religion in this country. The force of this movement was bolstered by the demands of a Protestant controlled economy that was rapidly becoming industrial.

The industrialists saw the urban immigrant masses as a potential source of workers. However, most immigrants had come from agrarian backgrounds, and simply were lacking in skills that industry needed. Yet even more problematic than this lack of skills, since experience could easily give skills, was the potential of these masses for urban unrest, and more specifically an attitude that was not conducive to working in industry. The necessary attitude, according to the industrialists, was one of acceptance and docility. Mass production required workers who not only had skills, but who also accepted their lot and were not divisive elements in a work setting that required acceptance of routine and authority. The Protestant industrialists, according to Katz, viewed public education as the appropriate vehicle through which to inculcate these skills and attitudes in the poor.

There was some dissention, however, over how to best provide these educational services. Katz documents the range of experimentation and discourse to highlight the significance of the final choice of "incipient bureaucracy" as the organizational form that was believed to be most able to achieve the desired goals.

Intriguingly, bureaucracy has been seen as the most "rational" form of organization (Weber 1964). This "rationality" was precisely what the industrialists saw. Bureaucracy maximizes order and control. It more regularizes the distribution of power and authority than do other forms of organization. Thus, when looking at the task of instilling a particular set of skills and values

into an extensively heterogeneous mass of immigrant groups, the selection of bureaucracy by those in control was indeed "rational" for their interests. They were pushing integration into the industrial order, if not American society.

It could be argued then that the history of mass education in this country is a history of conflict over the meaning of integration. As Katz (1971) showed for the nineteenth century origins of public schooling in this nation, and Karier, Violas and Spring (1973) demonstrate for education in the twentieth century, the persistent logic of the public school movement has emphasized assimilation over intellectual development--with the often explicit goal of teaching "the norms necessary to adjust the young to the changing patterns of the economic system as well as to the society's more permanent values" (Karier, Violas and Spring 1973:7).

The assumption of bureaucracy as the organizational form for public education was, thus, an insidious design to forcibly, but subtly, assimilate the newly immigrated into an emerging industrial order that was dominated by Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Further, this "assimilative logic" has persisted and often seems to have been heightened by the increasing bureaucratization of public education.

It may be argued that, if anything, the "assimilative logic" may have been heightened over time through an institutional accrual of power. The assumption of bureaucracy as the organizational form for public education seems to have led to an

insulation and isolation of the institution from those which it serves. Inasmuch as the preeminent feature of bureaucracy is internal control, problems that emerge within the organization are routinely resolved internal to the bureaucracy with only gross incidents referred to the formal linkage to the community, the school board. Further, given the pattern of democracy in this nation is simple majority rule, it is often the case that the school board is more representative of local industrial interests than of the general community. Even when this is not the case, school board decisions are often based upon information and recommendations of the "experts" who staff the bureaucracy. Even the formation of state credentialling regulations reflect this pattern.

The institutional accrual of power by education seems to have been supported by the professionalization movement among educators. As with other occupations, professionalization appears to be a mechanism which "cools out" outside influence and control through the development of colleges of education that determine, under legislative mandate, who can be a teacher and who can be an "expert" in the field of education.

Interestingly, some of the characteristics of bureaucratization, differentiation and specialization in particular, have seemed to neutralize the possibility that anyone can be "expert" on all facets of the educational process. (Not only are educators specialists but schools have differentiated various curriculum blocks, administrative specialists, and levels of

authority.) This trend seems to have been effective not only in reducing community influence and involvement, but also in thwarting the emergence of any large body of intellectuals who are "knowledgeable" across the gamut of educational philosophy, theory, policy, curriculum, instruction, and so on.

In short, public education, seemingly through increasing bureaucratization has over the past century accrued such power that it may consciously only minimally represent even the industrialists. Yet the mold seems to have been cast in the 1880's, and education may never be able to escape its allegiance to the early industrialists, and its assimilative logic, if it never escapes bureaucracy as the dominant organizational form.

There seems to be some support for this notion of a growing isolation of the school from the world of work. As Grant Venn (1964) has stated:

> A facade of affluence and abundance hides the spreading blight of social crisis in America--a crisis compounded by insufficient economic growth, a rising number of unemployed, increasing racial tensions, juvenile delinquency, swelling public welfare roles, chronically depressed areas, and an expanding ratio of youth to the total population, as well as a growing disparity of educational opportunities. At the center of the crisis is a system of education that is failing to prepare individuals for a new world of work in an advanced technological society (p.157).

James Conant (1961) also analyzes school drop-outs as responding to the question: "Why stay in school when graduation for half of the boys opens onto a dead-end street?")p.33).

This has a number of implications of interest. First, it would seem to critique such analysts as Jencks (1972) who argue

that schools merely reflect the stratification present in our society. It would suggest that Jencks' understanding is too simplistic. If the analysis presented here is correct, schools are actors, and thus have significant impact upon the lives and life chances of youth, since the school does reproduce stratification. It reproduces stratification not because it is inescapable in a stratified society, but because it has an assimilative logic upon which it operates. It selects and sorts youth not fully according to the social position of their parents, but in large part because it has developed techniques of evaluation and controls the criteria upon which these evaluations are made. These criteria and the evaluation techniques make assumptions about the clients that are to be processed, and then serve to reify the notion that some are "incapable" of success in an academic setting. Reinterpreting Jencks (1972) then, it is possible that family background is important to a youth's success in school because the school assumes it to be, and not because the stratification of the society differentially breeds capabilities. This understanding is consistent with recent studies that question the cultural deprivation assumptions that even Jencks implies. For example, Bazemore and Noblit (1976) demonstrate that for rural white populations the social class-academic achievement relationship cannot be explained using the interviewing variables posited by those who use cultural deprivation assumptions.

This analysis is also consistent with the findings of Rosenbaum (1975) who demonstrated that changes in standardized test scores for students were related to the level of instruction to which the student was assigned. That is, gains result from assignment to the more college oriented tracks, while losses in test scores were more likely in the more basic levels of instruction. This was further not to be explained away by the initial achievement of youth. Thus the school dramatically structures the scores of its students on achievement tests.

When coupling this with Anderson's (1973) argument that schools which serve predominantely low income and minority youth are more bureaucratized, it appears that an understnading of the effects of desegregation on test scores can not be complete without including an analysis of the degree of differentiation in levels of instruction that exists within the school(s) studied. Thus, if desegregation results in any changes in ability test scores it may well be due to the school's response to desegregation. If more differentiation in levels of instruction is instituted then it may well be that test scores will drop off regardless of the capabilities of students being brought into the school.

All this heightens the significance of the "assimilative logic" of public education. Inasmuch as it is aimed at acculturating youth into a school routine that is at least somewhat divorced from the world of work and not concerned with fostering cultural pluralism, the existent process of interracial

education may well be the preeminent stumbling block to attaining truly "integrated" education.

While many of the proponents of progressive education have some awareness of this situation, especially through their analysis of schooling's emphasis on control and the promotion of docility, they do not always understand the implications of the assimilative purpose of mass education. As Katz (1975) most cogently has noted, many critics of education (e.g., Silberman 1970, and even Kozol 1972, and Grauband 1972) have emphasized, as a solution to this "purpose" of education, less reliance upon the development of cognitive skills and more reliance upon affective education. This type of proposal reveals the unfortunate seeming innateness of racism in public education as we know it. As it turns out, education has been affective. Its historical purpose was primarily to mold the illiterate masses to fit the industrial order. The goal of public education was primarily to create docile workers to serve the industrial revolution and its aftermath.

The essential misunderstanding of many critics of education is precisely how to interpret the "integrative" thrust of the public school movement. Silberman (1970) has chosen to regard it to be the result of a mindlessness on the part of educational planners and administrators. It appears in his analysis that the "mindlessness" has almost by default led to a misdirection in the purposes of education that can be resolved by a concerted effort on the part of professional educators. While the above

analysis implies that we interpret his stance as historically naive, it also underscores the need to understand exactly what is meant by "integration" in the first place. The analyses of Silberman, Kozol and Grauband all suffer from this lack of understanding. Their emphasis on affective education is not necessarily the result of some unintended racism, but probably is better portrayed as the result of a different definition of "integration" than the one Katz argues is organizationally embraced in the modern, bureaucratic public school.

A definitional problem akin to integration gives further significance to the problem, when one considers the natural history of the Coleman Report (Coleman et al. 1966). As Mosteller and Moynihan (1972) have argued, the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey did not sustain the same definition of what constituted equality of educational opportunity throughout its existence. It appears that the original definition was one of equality of inputs or resources. However, this definition was later supplanted by a definition of equality of outputs. "Equality" in respect to education even has definitional problems.

The definition of integration. The basic problem in understanding education, and particularly when one wishes to understand its process interracially, as is the purpose of this study, is then to understand what constitutes "equality of educational opportunity" and what constitutes "integration." Rist (1975) has most cogently addressed this issue. In his analysis on

integrated education, he argues that the definition of integration has been phased by various researchers in terms of either class or color, but regardless of which motif becomes dominant there are but two possible institutional responses--assimilation or pluralism. That is, integration can alternatively mean the assimilation of a class or racial minority into the culture of the majority or a respect for racial or class pluralism. The problem of Silberman and many of the other critics of education is that they embrace the latter definition, but are, for all practical purposes, unaware of the controversy and its roots.

If one builds Rist's (1973) analysis on top of the work of Katz (1971), the definition of integration has more to it than just the competition between two formulations. Katz has argued that the basic nature of public education was set in the late nineteenth century by its assumption of "incipient bureaucracy" as the mode of organization. For Katz, the bureaucratic mode is an elitist formulation, one that was meant to maximize control over, and instill industrial values in, the unassimilated immigrants. Thus the definition of integration as assimilation seems to have the weight of not only the white population behind it, as Rist argues, but also the force of bureaucracy. The definition of integration as pluralism has only the backing of large parts of the Black community and the resources of but a few white intellectuals.

To conduct an ethnography of an urban "desegregated" school, the definition of integration as well as desegregation must be

resolved at least for research purposes. For the purposes of the study proposed here, integration will be defined as "cultural pluralism" that can be based in either race or class terms or both. Desegregation is defined as the physical mixing of white and Black students. The two processes can be, and we assume usually are in the case of public education today, mutually exclusive. Our definition of integration requires, if one believes Katz (1971) and Pearl (1972), a reorganization of education to achieve a respect for, and a basis in, cultural diversity, while desegregation requires no change in the current logic of public education--only how students and teachers are physically arranged by race.

The organizing theme. We feel that an ethnography must inductively develop as it proceeds. However, for an ethnography to develop there must be some central organizing theme. The preceeding discussion provides much of the background for the theme we propose to use. This theme puts an emphasis on attempting to understand the "logic" of the school. While many researchers (Levy 1970; Rist 1973) have pointed to the extensive use of control mechanisms by teachers in the classroom, their analyses also suggest that these mechanisms are the result of the teachers being subject to, and in many cases assuming, the "assimilative logic" of the public school. We agree with Katz (1971) that this logic may be endemic to bureaucracy and its bourgeois assumptions.

It is this "assimilative logic" that not only leads to the emphasis on control in schools, but also to the acceptance of

the reward and punishment ethos. The assimilative logic is one of sorting and punishing. Grading, track assignment, ability grouping and the other sorting mechanisms which have been continually critiqued on an educational basis (cf. Schafer and Olexa 1971) are the inducement mechanisms for assimilation. The rewards of success in school and the promise of success in adulthood are available to those who submit to becoming assimilated. Those who do not submit are, conversely, punished not only via disciplinary procedures, but by withholding the credentials through which one may reap the payoffs of this society. (Parenthetically, it is interesting to speculate about the unintended consequences of the assimilative logic's use of punishment. If punishment is overly common, there may be an organized reaction by those who are the targets of the logic. Ironically, the assimilative logic, if not carefully controlled, can be the instrument of its own destruction.)

Utilizing assimilative logic as the organizational theme permits the fuller analysis that Collins (1977) suggests will enable an understanding of the preselection mechanisms of the school for entry to the labor force and to higher education. It will require an understanding of the administrative order and the substance of the curriculum offered. In this way, it may be possible to best understand the dynamics of interracial schooling in a court-mandated desegregated setting.

This investigation, however, would not be complete if only the assimilative logic of schools is fully understood. The

school, while a bureaucracy, consists of human actors who are stratified by power arrangements. These actors are not free to behave as they wish. On the contrary, the organization of the school places constraints upon human behavior. The humans in turn negotiate with those constraints and the people or entities that impose them.

In short, individuals constantly negotiate with and accomodate to coercive settings, and these processes are essential features of human interaction in a desegregated high school.

Thus to fully understand the dynamics of interracial schooling not only the complex notion of "assimilative logic" must be explained, but the negotiations and accomodations of the various parties to that logic and from labor market preselection, bureaucracy and the curriculum content which help define it. In short, this is a study of human action in a coercive context, and the multiperspectival realities associated with it.

By better understanding the coercive processes of the assimilative logic and their effects upon human action, it is then possible to place the sensitizing questions discussed earlier in context. We will be able to ascertain not only who are the cultural maximizers, for example, but what meanings are attached to their existence, the processes which maintain their position as cultural maximizers, and their observed and potential effect upon the school. An ethnography of an urban desegregated high school promises to yield analyses that reveal the dynamics

of desegregation within the school, and hopefully will provide for a reconsideration of existing policy and research directions.

As such we conceive this study to be a case study in political economy. It attempts to provide a description, analysis, and synthesis of a social institution that would seem to have a vital role in preparing humans to enter the labor market, and as part of that function stratifies youth by ability and social acceptability.

METHODOLOGY

Douglas (1976:189) writes that almost all social research has, either singly or in combination, four general goals:

> (1) Providing us with knowledge of the members' situated experience--that is, social meanings, the way it looks to the members of society, and so on;
>
> (2) Providing us with knowledge of how the different experiences of different individuals and groups are related to each other in concrete settings--that is, the interaction of multiperspectival experience;
>
> (3) Providing us with knowledge of the extensiveness or representativeness of members' experience, with special emphasis on providing knowledge of the universally shared experience of the world--that is, the representativeness of findings about social meanings, the structure of meanings and so on; and
>
> (4) Providing us with knowledge that can be used in practical efforts to solve social problems--that is, policy-oriented knowledge, relevant knowledge, and so on.

Further, he argues that traditionally field research studies have been concerned primarily with the first goal--that of providing knowledge concerning the experience of members of a group. He argues that most justifications of field studies have claimed superiority over other methods in attaining this goal, and as a result most researchers have chosen extended and indepth field studies in a limited setting with a small group of participants.

The second goal, according to Douglas, is often treated as an ideal but rarely attempted. And when attempted:

> In general, the field research studies that manage to get at the experience of several different groups in a setting almost always do so uniperspectivally; they almost never consider the multiperspectival nature of the members' social reality. They do not show how

> the different groups are in conflict and cooperation with each other, how the experience of each is partially determined by its interactions with the others, and how this experience changes over time as a result (Douglas 1976:190-1).

The third and fourth goals have fared even more poorly for field researchers. Getting representative findings and determining the extent and distribution of social phenomena have been the domain of quantitative researchers. Similarly, the requirement for representative findings in policy-oriented studies have led to a reliance upon quantitative methods.

Douglas argues that the limitations of field studies when attempting to achieve these goals may well be the result of the traditions of a classical field research:

> For many reasons, classical field research has almost always used the Lone Ranger approach. That is, they have gone out single-handedly into the bitterly conflictual social world to bring back the data alive. This approach has demanded considerable strength and courage much of the time and almost always an ability to operate alone, with little or no support and inspiration from colleagues. It has also demanded total honesty of its practitioners, since there was no one else around to help "keep them honest." And it demanded that he be a jack-of-all-interactional-skills, since he had to be all things to all people in his research setting (Douglas 1976:192-3).

However, Douglas argues that such limitations can be overcome by engaging in "team" field research:

> Team field research offers the only alternative to the Lone Ranger approach in field research. It involves the careful, systematic integration of the investigative field research efforts of a number of people in one setting as well as interacting settings. Investigative team field research allows us to do what classical field research had tried to do--go in depth--and what the controlled, quantitative research has tried to do--get the extensive, representative, structured information on the settings. It also allows us to get the multiperspectival view of society that

> neither of these even aimed at doing. It offers us the best hope of combining reliable indepth knowledge with the overall picture, and the multiperspectival understanding with both (Douglas 1976:193-4).

The research reported herein has utilized the team field research approach even though it began prior to Douglas' work being available. Nevertheless, the four goals he later stated were embraced from the inception of the project through its completion. We wanted to know the members' situated experience, the interaction of multiperspectival experience, the extent and representativeness of the members' experience, and to be able at the end to provide knowledge that might inform educational policy. The utilization of a team approach seemed to facilitate these.

While Douglas' account, as noted above, seems to adequately demonstrate the appropriateness of the team field research approach, some additional discussion and justification of the third and fourth goals seems desirable. Obviously, with ample researchers and financing, representativeness of findings could be accomplished in a similar fashion to that survey research. However, the survey approach usually relies upon the representativeness of individual respondents and not upon the representativeness of situations or experiences. The team field research approach samples so that representative situations or settings are studied. While the collection of individual interviews and observations collected via field study may not be random, the situations are representative of the setting under study--in our case,

a desegregated high school. The distribution is not of individuals, but of the situations in a setting.

The significance of this approach to representativeness of findings can be demonstrated as we further consider the goal of policy relevance. While one would assume that contract research such as is the case with this study, is usually more policy-relevant than non-contract research, field research could further be considered as being more policy relevant than quantitative research. Primarily, there are four reasons for this. First, since field research samples situations its results are less the accumulation of individual psychologies than is, say, survey research. That is to say, field research better captures situations and settings which are more amenable to policy and program intervention than are accumulated individual attributes. Second, field studies reveal not static attributes but understandings of humans as they engage in action and interaction within the contexts of situations and settings. Thus inferences concerning human behavior are less abstract than in many quantitative studies, and one can better understand how an intervention may affect behavior in a situation. Third, Goode and Hatt (1952) argue that field studies are better able to assess social change than more positivistic designs, and change is often what policy is addressing, one way or the other. Finally, Douglas (1976) argues convincingly that investigative team field research is grounded in assessing conflict, resistance, evasions, fronts, lies and so on. Both for successfully conducting the research and for understanding

multiperspectival realities, field research is the vehicle by which one can better understand human conflict. Since conflict and resistance are both stuffs for which policies must appropriately account if they are to be successful, field research is highly policy relevant.

In short, a team field research approach seemed to facilitate the accomplishment of the purpose of the project--to document the process of interracial education in a desegregated high school; and to attain the four goals Douglas specified for social research. The study necessitated an observational methodology as opposed to a direct experience or participant methodology. Even given the introduction given above, however, it seems necessary to distinguish between ethnography, the methodology chosen for this study, and simple observation for the approach to be fully understood.

Ethnography and Observation

This endeavor need not be elaborate. Rather, allow the remarks to be confined to distinguishing simple observation from ethnography--the methodology chosen for this study.

Observational strategies are commonly used in the study of educational settings. Unfortunately, it is the usual case that only "simple" observation is employed. "Simple" observation is defined as that type of observation which is not treated as a formal research technique or that which is restricted to only "counting" behaviors. Of course, all researchers use observational data, even if it is only used as the basis upon

which a final research design is formulated. Further, it is often used to establish a basic description of setting being studied (often reported in the "methods" section of quantitative studies or as "contextual" data reported elsewhere in the research report). Nevertheless, simple observation is employed in a piecemeal fashion and used to quite limited ends. Even when it is used to establish the teaching patterns or motion patterns of the participants via "counting", the limitations placed upon observation by the principal investigator are evident.

Unfortunately, there are those who utilize qualitative, observational data as their major methodology, but who employ it as an approximation of quantitative, positivistic approaches. These researchers engage in simple observation often because they do not understand or appreciate the integrity of a qualitative methodology. Generally, these researchers justify such investigations by regarding them as exploratory and only hypothesis generating.

Ethnography is not "simple" observation nor an expansion, extension or elaboration of simple observation, for it allows for an understanding of the complete setting, its components, and its historical process; and does so in the terms of the meaning categories of the participants. That is, ethnography captures the essence of a setting, and the variety of essences according to the categories of the members who work in it, pass through it, or attempt to impact upon it.

Spicer (1976:341) writes in reference to applied ethnographic research:

> In the study there should be use of the emic approach, that is, the gathering of data on attitudes and value orientations and social relations directly from the people engaged in the making of a given policy and those on whom the policy impinges. It should be holistic, that is, include placement of the policy decision in the context of the competing or cooperating interests, with their value orientations, out of which the policy formulation emerged; this requires relating it to the economic, political, and other contexts identifiable as relevant in the sociocultural system. It should include historical study, that is, some diachronic acquaintance with the policy and policies giving rise to it. Finally, it should include consideration of conceivable alternatives and of how other varieties of this class of policy have been applied with what results, in short, comparative understanding.

Obviously, ethnography is more than an assessment of the impact of an event upon some group, for it would argue that such an assessment does not provide sufficient understanding of the nature of the event, its historical underpinnings and meanings, how various groups regard the event, its meanings, and how that event compares with other events, conceptions and procedures that are present in any situation or set of situations. In short, ethnography is not the inadequate approximation of a quantitative study, but rather the more complete analysis and synthesis that more quantitative studies attempt to reductionistically capture. Unfortunately, this reductionistic rendering is inadequate--not necessarily because it has limited scope, for not all quantitative studies and many qualitative studies do. It is inadequate because it is insufficient for scientific proof inasmuch as it cannot establish such things as causality.

The Duality of Scientific Proof

There has been much bantering over whether hypothetico-deduction or analytic induction is the true method of science. Znaniecki (1934) has argued that the latter is the true method of the natural sciences; Homans (1967) argues for the former. However, some philosophers of science, most notably Peter Winch, have attempted to portray the duality of a scientific proof. Most researchers would argue that, of course, qualitative and quantitative research are complementary and when used conjointly may serve as a triangulation of results. This is not the duality with which we are concerned here. In fact, the above common argument demonstrates a fundamental misunderstanding of the true duality of a scientific proof. The duality cannot be expressed as complementary, for one part of the duality is necessary to the other, while the reverse is not true. The common understanding that denotes the relationship as complementary reflects, in part, the dominance of the quantitative approach to the study of education, and, in part, the inadequacies of the explanations of the logic of interpretation to which researchers have been exposed (Turner and Carr 1976). Permit an attempt to rectify the latter.

The works of Turner (1953), Bensman and Vidich (1960), Winch (1967), McCarthy (1973), and Turner and Carr (1976) all point to the duality as a necessity for fully adequate explanation of a social phenomena. The duality has been expressed alternatively as analytic induction and enumerative induction (Robinson 1951), theoretical prediction and empirical

prediction (Turner 1953), heuristic and systematic theory (Bensman and Vidich 1960), and interpretive understanding and causal explanation (Turner and Carr 1976). The latter formulation seems to be the most adequate inasmuch as it is inclusive of the basic arguments of the others but seems to respect the duality most inasmuch as the others are either positivistic interpretations of the duality or more allowed the positivistic critiques to establish the parameters for discussion than have Turner and Carr. Further, Turner and Carr frame the argument in terms of the larger issue of criticism and theory development and address their arguments to one explanatory system and its critique from two disciplines, sociology and history. Thus, it appears that such a complete argument framed in interdisciplinary terms would be most appropriate for education since it remains a highly interdisciplinary field of study.

Interpretive understanding is the qualitative component of the duality, while causal explanation is the quantitative, probabilistic assessment. The former has been conceived as a "closed system" by Ralph Turner (1953). He argues that the application of analytic induction will produce a causally self-contained system, isolated by definition from intrusive factors that will activate the closed system of causal process. Boldly stated, interpretive understanding is, "placing the act in an intelligible and more inclusive context of meaning" (Weber 1968:9). Thus, it is invariably attuned to the notion of intention in any action context. Interpretive understanding

is that understanding that can in the context of any specified action system account for the meaning of the juxtaposition of events on some plane (i.e., time or space). Interpretation, then, is "an observation technique appropriate to particular kinds of facts... . If we view interpretation of meaning in (this) way, interpretive claims must be regarded as observational hypotheses, to be confirmed or disconfirmed by direct application of the technique" (Turner and Carr 1976:4). Turner and Carr cite Weber for an account of the method:

> All interpretation of meaning, like all scientific observations, strives for clarity and verifiable accuracy of insight and comprehension (Evidenz). The basis for certainty in understanding can be either rational, which can be further subdivided into logical and mathematical, or it can be of an emotionally empathic or artistically appreciative quality. Action is rationally evident chiefly when we obtain a completely clear intellectual grasp of the action-elements in their intended context of meaning. Empathic or appreciative accuracy is attained when, through sympathetic participation, we can adequately grasp the emotional context in which the action took place (Weber 1968:5).

Interpretive understanding and causal explanation conjoin so that:

> ...we <u>understand</u> the motives of an individual which <u>may be the cause</u> of action, and our grounds for this 'understanding' is 'sympathetic participation' or an 'intellectual grasp.' <u>Explanation</u>, however, is achieved only when we have <u>identified</u> the actual cause (Turner and Carr 1976:6-7) (emphasis in original).

As such then, cause is possibly best a probability that is calculable but may not be numerical (that is, it may be Mills' "method of difference" where the largest number of processes that differ on one decisive point are compared). The probability

is that one observable event, overt or subjective, will be followed by some other event (Weber 1968:10-12).

Thus, it appears that causal adequacy requires that both interpretive understanding and causal explanation be obtained:

> The causal interpretation, taken as a whole, is adequate if and only if it is adequate on the level of meaning and on the level of established transition probabilities (Turner and Carr 1976:7).

The duality of scientific proof has often been ignored by educational researchers. All too often, qualitative studies are seen as inadequate because they only generate hypotheses according to conventional logic, and because it is more fruitful for researchers to gather quantitative data so as to better establish causation. This type of logic belies the duality of scientific proof and has disastrous implications for how we proceed with research and the conclusions which we draw.

Site Selection

Memphis' Crossover High School (a pseudonym) was chosen as the target school for this proposed ethnography. The selection was based on a number of factors. First, it had one of the most equal racial balances in the system in 1975. As of April, 1975, it had a student body that was 40 percent white and 60 percent Black. (Note: Jencks and Brown (1975) suggest that racial composition at the high school level has no appreciable effect upon the test scores of Black and white children.) In addition to this racial balance, it had

the best mix of students representing the various socioeconomic groups of both races in the city. Children came from families of the upper middle class, the working class, as well as from the recent migrants to the city from rural areas. The residence patterns are such that it has been necessary to bus only a few children to achieve a minimal racial balance, once the zoning boundaries were altered. In the Crossover High area, following the usual pattern of Southern cities, Black neighborhoods are interspersed among white residential areas. In this particular case, as Memphis expanded east, away from the River after World War II, the white areas simply engulfed a Black community that had originally existed outside the city. Over the past three decades these residential patterns have remained relatively stable without the usual "white flight" of northern cities.

There is a wide range of socioeconomic groups within each racial area. The housing varies from upper income family units to blue collar family units. There is one large and several small low-income public housing complexes in the Black area. Collins (1973) has carried out an ethnographic study of these latter units in 1973. For the most part, these low-income units were occupied by clusters of extended family networks with rather enduring ties to rural Delta counties.

Another major factor governing our choice was the physical plant. It was built in 1948 on the outer limits of the expanding suburban area at a cost of 2½ million dollars. It is located on a multiple acre tract of rolling landscaped park and

playground. It was as well maintained and modern as any school in the system. These conditions contrast sharply with those reported in most ethnographic studies of inner city schools (cf. Kohl 1967; Kozol 1967; for an exception, see Levy 1970). Moreover, Crossover High School had maintained a reputation for high quality education. Before desegregation, it was considered a "college prep school" for the East Memphis upper middle class, and the Central School System Administration maintained that the college preparatory track was still emphasized in the curriculum at the time of site selection. It was assumed these features were, in part, responsible for retaining such a high number of whites in the school after desegregation.

In short, it was our belief that we selected a school that is unique in the sense that it had an excellent physical plant and academic program, and a wide range of socioeconomic and racial groups from which to draw students. In no sense of the word, however, could the district be considered an integrated community as the residential barriers are extensive. However, the facility is located close enough to neighborhoods of both Blacks and whites for the students to consider it "their school." The range of students will reflect a respectable cross-section of the values and attitudes of the whole Memphis community.

Working the Setting

As Douglas (1976) suggests is necessary, the research team was fluidly organized, and team members were used wherever possible in accordance with their skills, contacts, and natural abilities. The research team varied in number at different points. For most of the study, the two principal investigators were the only ones involved in data collection, and universally were the only researchers that worked within the school walls. However, four student-researchers at various points were employed to interview students and parents in their homes. Two Black interviewers, one male and one female, conducted interviews with Black parents and students at home, while two white female interviewers interviewed white subjects in similar settings.

Following each interview or observation, the field researcher would dictate his/her field notes for transcription onto protocols. Early in the study, running notes were taken in the presence of school participants when the researchers were engaged in classroom observation roles. Notes from early unstructured interviews and observations of more informal activities were jotted down after the discussion had been terminated. However, after the first five months of the study the school participants had become so accustomed to our presence and note-taking that it was possible to take notes as one interviewed or observed even in highly informal settings. Of course, there were many instances of someone "dropping" some information on us seemingly "in confidence." Whenever this was the case, notes were not taken in setting, unless the

respondent indicated he/she expected them to be taken. By writing the notes later, "confidence" was publicaly protected for all parties.

Entry into the setting for the first year was easily negotiated for all groups of school participants. At that time, every group had a story they thought we would end up verifying, tell the world and the federal government, and vindicate them, their behaviors and attitudes. Given that intergroup conflict was present in the school, there was some problem in appearing too closely with one faction, thus making the other group suspect of our goals. Initially it was agreed that one of the co-principal investigators should concentrate on the Black students and parents and the other on the white students and parents. Since both co-principal investigators teach at the local university and teach many graduate and undergraduate students from the College of Education, each had informants in the various teacher groups; thus specialization was not needed initially for teachers or the administration. As time progressed, however, even the student and parent specialization was no longer necessary and both were able to interact with all groups. It should also be noted that the use of same race interviewers when conducting out-of-school semi-structured interviews greatly facilitated obtaining intimate accounts of experiences and attitudes.

However, our access was not as full in the second year as in the first. There had been a controversial switch of principals over the summer, and the new principal, while

agreeing to continue our study, was not as accessible to us. Further, he created an atmosphere of supervision in the school that on occasion interfered with our discussions with students and staff. It seemed more difficult to draw participants into a discussion, since that might have been interpreted either as shirking one's responsibilities as a student or teacher or as a possible subversion of the principal. Nevertheless, data collection proceeded, albeit with somewhat more difficulty. Informants became even more important in the second year as sources of data and for the cross-checking of data gathered elsewhere.

As data was accumulated, the research team reviewed and discussed it. With these reviews, discussions, and data as background, the team then tested and checked out the data. Douglas (1976:146) explains "testing out" as:

> (1) Comparing a supposed fact, member account, etc., with the most reliable ideas and generally patterned facts the researcher has from his prior experience, and
>
> (2) Comparing one's own ideas and inferences with the observed facts in a setting.

As such it is an estimate of the plausibility of a supposed fact in terms of one's own prior knowledge and experience on the one hand, and in terms of the grasp the researchers have of the setting on the other. Testing out is an initial step in "checking out" facts, observations and accounts.

Douglas (1976:147-8) argues that "checking out" as a full technique is really a method for independant estimates of reliability of the data, and consists of:

(1) Checking out against direct observations of "hard facts";

(2) Checking out against direct experience acquired for that purpose, which we can call recycling to direct experience; and

(3) Checking out against alternative accounts.

Both in data collection and analysis, "testing out" and "checking out" were utilized. Obviously, "testing out" was more relied upon early in the study, but continued to be used when more rigorous "checking out" was not possible.

Finally, some data analysis was conducted throughout the study in which heuristic hypotheses were developed and applied against the data. These hypotheses were deemed supported only if they exhausted all relevant "checked out" data. If the heuristic hypothesis did not exhaust the data, three procedures would then follow. First, the data could be even more thoroughly reexamined for relevance to the heuristic hypothesis. Second, the hypothesis could be modified to better "fit" the data. Third, a substitute heuristic hypothesis could be formulated that could exhaust the data. In actuality, all three processes were utilized in analyzing the data, and the results that follow are the result of "checking out" and the rule of data exhaustion.

Finally, it should be noted that we originally proposed to use "network" and "frame" analyses as major analysis techniques to uncover structure and substance, respectively, of the interrelationships found. However, it quickly became evident that even in the small high school we studied,

networks are so complex that we had to abandon their formal study in order to be able to understand the process of inter-racial schooling. Similarly, frame analysis was found to be more a sensitizing concept, and more of use to the research team in understanding the data collected than in interpreting or organizing it. We used it, as with network analysis, as a more informal tool to help us understand the data, but it will not be formally addressed in the data analyses sections of this report.

THE SETTING

Introduction

As many have argued, it is not fully possible to understand a school situation without understanding the community which the school serves. The economic and social history of Memphis, the history of the desegregation process, and the character of communities served by Crossover High School all seem to provide important insights to the process of interracial education as it occurs at CHS.

Memphis

Memphis, located on the Mississippi River in the extreme southwest corner of Tennessee, historically developed as a commercial and banking center for the highly productive agricultural region of the Mississippi Delta. Over the years vast quantities of cotton, soybeans and hardwood lumber, the major products of the region, have been shipped from Memphis to national markets. Service industry, headed by a large regional medical complex, and an extensive warehousing industry provided employment for a large unskilled and nonunionized working class.

However, the post-World War II economic miracle which swept much of the nation and several southern urban areas provided few benefits for Memphis. The city suffered a series of economic setbacks. For example, the Ford Motor Company chose to move its automobile assembly plant elsewhere. Faced with intense competition from carpets and plastics,

one of the city's primary industries, hardwood and cabinets, slowly disappeared. The local wholesale grocery industry, made obsolete by the rising supermarket corporations, became a shadow of its former self.

By the late 1950's manufacturing facilities in Memphis were quite limited. Most large plants, such as those operated by Firestone, International Harvestor or General Electric, contained no corporate (or divisional) business functions within the city and other manufacturing facilities tended to be relatively small. City and regional leadership was dominated by local banking and real estate interests, which were very powerful in the area's economy but without influence in the national economy.

The city was ravished by several yellow fever epidemics in the late 1870's, either killing or driving off its foreign born population of German, Irish, and Italian Catholics and hence, much of the social and cultural diversity common to other cities was lost. Taking its place were migrants from the rural Delta, predominately from economically poor counties within a 100 mile radius. These migrants were of two types. Members of landowning families invested their surplus capital in Memphis commercial and banking enterprises, while the untrained and the poorly educated sons of sharecroppers and tenant farmers filled the low paying positions in the developing service industries. Many of the latter moved on to northern urban centers over the years but they were always replaced with other rural folk eager

for wage labor up through most of the 1950's. The social class structure of Memphis is a near duplicate of that of small rural Delta towns as described by Davis (1941) and Dollard (1937). Opportunities for inter-class mobility was limited for both Blacks and whites.

This unique economic and demographic situation gave rise to a political environment that was somewhat of an anachronism for large U.S. cities. All political power rested in the hand of one man, Boss Crump, for nearly the first half of the 20th century. Exposure to grass-root ward and neighborhood political training never occurred in Memphis. Moreover, the dominant religion is Baptist, which is not known for organization beyond its immediate congregations. Traditionally these churches did not serve a particular neighborhood or geographic area that can be identified as a political unit. Twenty years after Crump's death, grass-root political organizations are just now beginning to assert themselves and take a role in decision making. Unfortunately, however, a strong community leadership during the controversy over racial desegregation of the 1960's and 70's was conspicuously lacking, and for that reason school desegregation has suffered. Most of the advantages the city had going for it at the outset of the litigation, such as integrated neighborhoods where children would not have had to be bussed, have been lost. Extreme animosity now reigns where once some racial toleration existed.

The unique social structure of the city and the lack of socio-economic mobility has had its effect on the Memphis City School System. The system has consistently been one of the few major sources of professional employment for the sons and daughters of children from the underclass of the region. The common saying that a college educated Black could only "teach or preach" was not far off the mark up to the time of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. Moreover, it was also true for whites of the same socio-economic background. In an earlier unpublished survey by Collins, of 162 public sector employees, nearly 100% of the Blacks came from within Memphis and a correspondingly high number of whites came from rural areas within 100 miles of the city. A perusal of the demographic characteristics of the Memphis City School System teaching staff indicates a similar pattern. This situation would tend to suggest a number of implications for the school. Firstly, it provides an insular attitude among the staff which is reflected in the values espoused within the classroom. Effective socialization for rapid change is minimized (Reed 1972). Secondly, the staff is defensive about outside influences such as unionizing activity. Thirdly, it encourages effective, informal (school-boy) networks that can develop in the administration of the school system. Decisions therefore do not follow regular heirarchial lines of authority. Fourthly, the presence of a closed occupational career ladder, both Black and white, can create rather strong vested interest which distorts the real educational issues. In other words, school desegregation may

threaten access as well as open new routes of mobility. As such, the regionalism of school system staff, and the implications of that regionalism, suggest that school desegregation in Memphis may well be a rather unique case when comparing it with other large urban systems.

Litigation and Confrontation in the 60's

The massive desegregation of the 1970's arrived only after a long agonizing decade in which the city was rocked with severe racial and labor strife followed by street confrontations and riots, and finally the tragic assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. A description of this conflict can provide a sense of the state of affairs that preceded Court-ordered desegregation in 1972, and it set the stage for the character of interracial education as it currently exists.

The first actual attempt by a Black parent to enroll a child in the MCSS came in the first week of school in 1958, but was successfully thwarted by the city fathers. Three years later (October, 1962) the school system began its "Good Faith Integration Plan" under which Black students were to be integrated at the early grades in certain schools and be allowed to continue through high school. There were 13 children enrolled in four separate, formerly all white elementary schools. On the same day, the names and addresses of all their parents were printed on the front page of the local newspaper (Commercial Appeal, 10/4/61). This was one year after the NAACP had begun

its litigation (Northcross v. Board) to integrate the system. The following year (1962) 40 additional Black elementary students entered all white schools; a year when the Court of Appeals in Cincinatti ruled that the desegregation plan currently used was not adequate. The Board of Education was following a 1957 "Tennessee Pupil Placement Law where Negro children had to apply for transfer to another school." The Court argued the Board was not demonstrating good faith.

In September 1964, out of 112,000 students (54,212 Black; 52,852 white) only 732 Black students were located in formerly all white schools; a number of Black teachers were being hired, but nevertheless all 24 high schools in the system remained segregated. By 1965, there was a new awareness that the courts and even the federal agencies were not going to relent in their efforts to carry out the Law as interpreted in Brown. As a result, the Board of Education saw fit to prepare teachers and staff for desegregation by sending a few of its members to a meeting in Chattanooga under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. (Six million dollars had been provided nationally by the federal government to aid districts in desegregation.)

Black frustration was beginning to build in other areas and institutions over economic problems and the slow progress in achieving equal rights. The Black middle-class had gained some concessions in the early 60's; libraries, recreation facilities and public accomodations had been integrated. In 1963, Black votes had been instrumental in helping elect what they

had anticipated to be a liberal mayor. These expectations proved to be false particularly in the policy of desegregation in industry and schools. Frustration reached the boiling point in 1967. According to Collins (1974:4):

> Actually, little progress was made. Frustrations began to mount in the late 1960's. When a tough-minded mayor,...was elected to office in 1967 without the support of any segment of the Black electorate, the mood of the Blacks changed to one of greater militancy with an emphasis on direct confrontation. The Black middle-class organizations were waiting for an issue when the sanitation employees walked out on strike February 12, 1968. This time the employees were not ready to back down. They had organizational support, a militant union, and a city mayor who was capable of unifying the Blacks.

This strike continued for 65 days with some street action occuring nearly daily, along with a crippling boycott by Blacks of downtown business establishments and a number of severe clashes between the police and young Blacks. The end of the strike came only with the tragic death of Dr. Martin Luther King who was in the city to lend support to the sanitation employees. Needless to day, the focus of the national and world press following the assassination was not kind in its assessment of race relations in the city. The image created of Memphis in 1968 has been difficult for the city to overcome even now, after nearly ten years.

In the following summer, Black groups, who were now solidly unified, were obligated to pursue the action that the sanitation workers and Dr. King had begun. The all Black city employees union pushed for further unionization of hospital service workers.

In what union leaders called their "spread the misery campaign," attempts, or at least threats, were made to create havoc in the suburban shopping centers (i.e., rumors were circulated in July that rats were going to be trapped in Black residential areas and set loose in East Memphis). Black youth were recruited in the hospital strike action to keep the pressure on the City. When the students returned in the fall, the NAACP elected to carry pressure into the schools in a final attempt to end desegregation and win its "struggle for dignity." An effective action was carried out where the Black students (65,000 pupils) walked out of school each Monday for six weeks in September and October. This protest was aptly called the "Black Monday Boycotts." On October 20, 600 Black teachers voted to stay away from school in support of the students. For the next two weeks nearly 2,000 city employees, mostly sanitation workers, walked off their jobs on each Monday. The coalition of Black groups directing the protest made the following 15 demands on the Board of Education (Commercial Appeal, October 16, 1969):

1. That the school system be decentralized into three or four large, racially mixed districts with Negroes actively involved in the preliminary planning for decentralization, and once it has been accomplished, at least half of the top positions to be filled by Negroes.
2. That schools be "paired" so white children will be sent to formerly all-Black schools and vice versa.

3. That two or more school board members resign, so the vacancies can be filled by Negroes.
4. That the personnel department be taken out of administrative services, and that a Negro be made assistant superintendent of personnel.
5. That the director of human relations be made an assistant superintendent.
6. That Negro coordinators be appointed to the departments of administrative services and of plant management.
7. That Negroes in substantial numbers be placed in administrative positions in classified personnel and in plant management.
8. That twice as many Black recruiters be hired to recruit from other areas.
9. That at least 75% of new teachers hired be Negroes.
10. That at least 80% of new administrative personnel hired this year be Negro, with a majority placed in predominantly white schools at the level of principal.
11. That courses in Black culture be introduced in high schools immediately.
12. That textbooks "which do not reflect the racial composition of America or which minimize the Negro's contribution to American society" be eliminated.
13. That "important" books on Black life and culture be placed in school libraries.

14. That the school board finance a comprehensive program to provide free lunches for every child of a poverty level family.
15. That all school board meetings be open to the public and televised.

It should be noted that nearly half of these demands focused on the issue of increased opportunity for Black teachers and administrators. Equal education for children continued to be just a part of the wider problems perceived by the Black coalition. In a region of limited access to white collar jobs, the MCSS was a critical source of employment for socially mobile individuals, both white and Black.

By the end of November, the city had been in almost constant turmoil over desegregation for two years and although there was still support for a hard-line attitude against Black demands from the lower middle class segments of the community, many leaders were willing to concede to the demands. A nine member, bi-racial committee was formed of prominent citizens to attempt to work out a solution to the school issue. This was followed by an order of the NAACP to send the students back to school on November 17. In part, this decision broke up the unity of the Black coalition since Black union leaders wanted to continue the effort to gain more economic concessions. The NAACP broke with the Union two days later and the NAACP president resigned. The Black community has not been able to present a solid front since that incident (c.f., Collins and Schick 1976).

In the following year, the school board was reorganized by expanding the number of members to nine. And to assure representation of Black neighborhoods, six of the members are elected by districts and only three "at large." Moreover, the Federal District Court directed the Board to rezone certain districts and pair a number of all Black schools with some predominately white schools. Massive reassignments of teachers had already taken place in the two previous summers to enable desegregation of most school staffs. Moreover, the Federal District Judge was now considering student ratios as a necessary criterion for desegregation.

After nearly eleven years of litigation and continuing confrontation, the students who finally came together at Crossover High School must have had some grave expectations of their future in education. For most of those eleven years the major topic around the family table was school desegregation. The many pronouncements by the radical fringe of the community had been well publicized for youthful consumption. The only exposure most whites had ever had to Blacks was subservient roles. Most Blacks had never even driven through white neighborhoods. For the middle-class Blacks the opportunity to attend an all-white school presented a hope for better employment and improved education. As we shall point out in the following chapter, however, there were many students from low-income families that never understood why their high school was being turned into a junior high and they had to attend a school that was not "their own."

As one graduating senior said after attending Crossover High School for three years, "I don't know why they closed our school, it was good. It is just another way white folks have of messin' over us, I guess."

Two Communities

Since the turn of the century, Memphis has been expanding East from the banks of the Mississippi. The Feeder community is one of those small towns that became engulfed in this urban expansion and was annexed by 1919. Located at the intersection of two railroads, the community developed several small manufacturing firms, warehouses and a foundry. Even after annexation, the Feeder area has been able to maintain a viable image as a community due largely to the working class character of the people. As new residential neighborhoods, mostly upper income, sprang up in the cotten field around Feeder, this working class area became more insular in character. Before World War II, several Black migrants started to move into areas just across the east side of the tracks. And after the war several single story housing projects were built to accommodate the greater flux of displaced tenant farmers predominately from Fayette County, Tennessee, less than 40 miles east of the city.

While the white area west of the tracks has been displaced by mostly business and warehouses, the Black residential area has remained a highly viable community with a stable population of home-owning (single-unattached dwellings) citizens.

Moreover, it is a community in the sense there is a high degree of concensus over territorial boundaries. In a survey of residents, there was only disagreement of where to place the east boundary, and this was due to the fact that some white flight is occuring in the area of former blue-collar whites. Otherwise, it is a tight, stable community surrounded on one side by industry, one side by business, and two sides by affirmed white neighborhoods, the boundaries to which have remained stable for nearly 30 years in the southern urban tradition of residential desegregation (i.e., Blacks living on the alley but not on the same street).

When first entering the Feeder neighborhood, one is struck by its rural character. Residents are friendly and concerned about what is taking place on their street. Small garden plots are common in the yards of single unit homes. Many continue their ties with rural kin and church membership in country churches. It is not uncommon for residents to return to Fayette County on Sunday for church service and for young children to spend summers with aunts and grandparents still residing in the country. These networks also act as conduits for information on employment. As Collins (1974:2) described it:

> In nearly every case, the employees belong to informal mutual aid groups structured on the extended families. Developed as a means of survival in the rural environment, these networks continue to furnish vital support for migrants in the city. Resources, such as garden vegetables and fresh meat, produced in the county, sustain members in the city while limited amounts of cash and used consumer goods flow back to the county stem of the family. In some instances, these networks

> remain viable for years, providing workers with their major social outlet (i.e., visiting) and information on available employment. Over two-thirds (67%) of those surveyed indicated they had learned of their sanitation job opening through friends or relatives. On the other hand, none of the men had sought the aid of formal agencies such as the State Employment Office.

A large part of the working force is employed in service industries such as the city sanitation department and as maids and janitors in hospitals, schools and other institutions (Collins 1973). Low wages are the norm for this type of employment; according to the 1970 census data, 25.4% of the residents have income below the poverty level. The work, however, provides a stable income, also reflected in the 1970 census listing, that has made it possible for 395 out of 815 Black heads of household (or over 25%) to own their own homes.

In addition to single-family houses and a few older one-story duplex type apartments, other housing in the neighborhood consists mostly of an apartment complex. These apartments were erected in the early 1970's by a private contractor who was heavily subsidized by federal monies. This is a high density, three-story brick complex of 300 units which is designated as low-cost housing. The rear of the complex backs up to a chain-link fence which serves as a barrier between it and the single family houses on the next street. Residents of these apartments are, by definition of the federal government, low-income. This means that the families are receiving some type of welfare payment, either as the sole source of income or as

a supplement to low income from unstable unemployment. A man who is familiar with many of the families said, "These people are working just to survive."

The neighborhood school of Feeder was a strong unifying force in the Feeder community. The school had gained a reputation for outstanding athletic teams and marching bands. (Many of the alumni from the athletic teams of the 1960's are now playing professional football and basketball.) Business and parent groups such as Band Parents, Booster Club and PTA were active and ball games drew capacity crowds (Collins and Noblit 1977). The staff of the school and the community had a good relationship with each other. A former teacher in the Feeder school described the neighborhood in this manner:

> There is a good sense of community there and a great deal of stability. People tend to marry within the community and do not move out. I have come a full generation with the students and now teach the children of students I had when I began. I used to take students home with me overnight and on weekends.

The former principal also remarked on the close involvement between the school and the community:

> I used to take "A" students out to dinner and to places around the city they had not seen as a reward for their good work. My wife used to say I was married to the school because I kept the gym open on weekends and holidays. It was a good neighborhood. People in the community would call me when they saw children cutting class and I would go out into the street and bring them back to school. You don't get that kind of cooperation any more.

In 1972 the school of Feeder (K-12) was desegregated and paired with Crossover, a formerly all-white high school in an

affluent neighborhood, and Crossover became the high school for the area. Crossover had historically been considered as a college prep school with high academic standards and some of the best teachers in the Memphis public school system. For this reason, many families who might otherwise have sent their children to private school chose instead to enroll them at Crossover. The Assistant Principal from Feeder, the Guidance Counselor, coaches and several teachers, mostly Black, were transferred to Crossover with the Assistant Principal being promoted to Principal of the newly desegregated school.

Race and Ethnicity at CHS

When different ethnic groups attend the same school they must contend with the established right of usage assigned to the dominant ethnic group. Each school "belongs" to a particular ethnic group (Suttles 1968:58).

> Schools...are consigned to ethnic groups on multiple criteria: location, precedent, ethnicity of staff, and ethnicity of student body. Where all these criteria coincide, the minority group students may take on the ingratiating manner of a humble guest. With this behavior they can survive and sometimes even advance... . If they do not accept this status they must fend for themselves.

In contrast to the relative homogeneity that characterized Feeder, the Crossover community was and is larger, more mixed population in socio-economic status. Though middle-class oriented when they were constructed after World War II, the homes range from extremely modest small two and three bedroom bungalows to extremely wealthy, rambling mansions complete with large

lots and, often, servant quarters. Generally the children from the families occupying the affluent section have always attended private schools. The families occupying the modest homes once represented a striving, socially mobile population of lower management types and small shop owners. They were not the money families, described in the preceeding section, but given the wage rates for general labor in the local economy, even these families were able to afford part of the accouterments of affluence such as service workers to clean their houses and care for their lawns. Although this group attempted to emulate the people in the upper class sections, the class lines were nevertheless rigidly maintained.

Crossover High, the school that served the area and which was destined to be paired with Feeder High, was located on the border of the community. It was just across the tracks from the Feeder community, roughly two blocks away. Built in 1948 with facilities to serve a school population from first through twelfth grades, or 2,000 students, it graduated its first class in 1951. Much to the chagrin of the city fathers including Boss Crump, the plant was more elaborate than any school in the MCSS up to that time. Sitting in the center of a rolling hill, surrounded by a large park area, the school had many extras, including large stone columns at the entrance, marble hall interior, large classrooms and a modern cafeteria. In fact, construction costs overran allocations and the school board had to wait for the next budget year to complete the auditorium. An addition called

the "annex" was provided as the school enrollment rose, but was more in keeping with the modest interiors of other schools. Needless to say, the structure and decor of the school fit the residential affluence it was built to serve.

The Superintendent or the School Board never made any attempt to include any population other than pupils of the white middle-class. Both the white and Black working class populations from both sides of Feeder were discreetly zoned to other schools farther away. Students were permitted to transfer from other high schools in the city to take advantage of the competitive academic program that developed at Crossover. For example, children of Jewish families who were categorically denied entrance to private academies found their way into the Crossover program. The exclusive nature of the attendance policy provided a strong competitive system that other schools in the system lacked.

Over the years, beginning in the mid-1960's, the character of the school changed. Families occupying the smaller homes in the district moved to the newer suburbs and were replaced with working class families as part of the usual "trickle down" of housing from the more affluent to the less affluent. Jewish children transferred to new high schools or began to attend private schools as discrimination against them lessened. This is not to imply the academic program was slipping, for the small graduating class of 1968 still managed to draw nearly $250,000 in college scholarships. There was, however, a greater

heterogenity, and the competitive nature of the academic program was changing even before Crossover was paired with Feeder in 1972.

As the economy of the city picked up somewhat through the boom years of Vietnam, local churches, particularly the numerous Baptist congregations, expanded their programs to include educational and recreational facilities. These institutions were hit by declining membership, hence they opted to become centers of social activities to hold the young people. With private facilities such as these the churches became the focus of recreational activity leaving little need for extensive publically financed community centers. Indeed, these churches, drawing their membership from all areas of the city and county, are a significant factor in why more whites do not have a strong neighborhood or community identity.

While the membership in white churches built their own private, segregated order, their counterpart in Black churches remained for the most part small and perpetually in debt. The Blacks turned to their neighborhood schools to secure their entertainment and recreational needs. The Blacks identified with their neighborhood schools, in spite of the fact they had little representation on the school board. Moreover, most Blacks did not attend college so they focused identity on the high school from which they graduated. School-boy ties remain strong even today among older Blacks. Up until mass desegregation, loyalties continued with its concomitant folklore about "the way it used

to be." It is common for adults in their forties to reminisce about the high school teams, the assemblies, the personalities of particular English teachers, the severe discipline and the high school antics of the "dudes that are making it locally and nationally in politics." A similar folklore does not exist among the white adults; they prefer stories of activities of "their" regional college or university.

Another factor that has to be considered as a special influence on the desegregation process is the low tax levels. The City has always emphasized low taxes to attract northern industry. Instead of increasing property tax or enacting an income tax, the City and the State legislatures have opted for more taxes such as liquor taxes and higher sales taxes.

Given this tax structure and the existence of private church facilities, it caused little burden for most middle-income families to send their children to private schools created in or by their own churches in the early 1970's. The traditional upper class already had their children in high status private education programs. Thus, it was no surprise when over 35,000 white students withdrew from the public schools when mass desegregation was finally ordered by the Federal District Court in 1971.

Since leaving, these families have subsequently attempted to lower the status of public schools by directing frequent innuendos at those parents who have elected to keep their children in public school for philosophical or financial reasons. As we shall see in later chapters, these white students and

parents suffer status deprivation and it will be argued that this social factor is more critical in continued "school flight" than quality education.

Summary and Conclusion

In summary, Memphis is an anachronism when compared to most large cities in the "Sun Belt." It has not enjoyed the post war economic prosperity of Atlanta or Dallas. Rather, it has remained mired in the problems which beset an agricultural region that is also a producer of raw materials and service. The social and cultural traditions of the rural Delta have remained relatively strong. Development capital from Northern and Eastern centers with its concomitant influence on legal institutions has not entered the local system to challenge the traditional power and prestige of the existing monied families, even though their capital base is relatively meager. Moreover, in order to compete with other regions, wages and property taxes have had to be repressed. The wages in the service sector of the local economy are notoriously low in comparison to northern industry. The resulting character of the city is marked by a dual sectory: one relatively large service producing sector and another service consuming sector. It has only been in recent years with the greater influx of federal capital, again largely for services, that the relatively small middle class has been able to build a base of power. Hence the social-economic structure of the city is dual in nature: largely a sector of "haves" and "have

nots" with a disproportionate number of Blacks making up the population of "have nots." In short the city, though a large metropolitian area in the census, maintains a small Delta town image and character.

The litigation process and the many confrontations which preceeded court ordered mass desegregation created a difficult backdrop for a successful social experiment in the schools. Moreover, the local tax structure allowed parents with even moderate income to opt for private schools for their children. The larger churches had the plant facilities for education. It was a simple process to convert them from Sunday school to day schools. The monied families had already established the tradition of private education with high status. Thus the "haves" of moderate means extended the tradition to insure a similar status, albeit lower, for their children. In 1972, some 35,000 white pupils left the public schools and given the existing advantages have continued to build their reputation by systematically lowering the social status of public schools. It takes a very strong, highly motivated set of parents to keep their children in public schools to face the almost daily innuendos of neighborhood and work mates concerning the "low quality standard of education and morals to be found in the public schools."

In conclusion, the character of the city and the setting has strongly preconditioned the general outcome of school desegregation in Memphis. This chapter is presented as a general

introduction to the descriptive material to follow in the next chapters on Crossover High School in order to give some understanding of and appreciation for the problems that beset such an undertaking. Precious little credit has been given the administration, teaching staff and pupils in the literature on desegregation who have attempted to make the experiment work. Mistakes by all parties have been made and these will be pointed out in the following analysis; however, it is not the intent of this research to detract from their efforts for they had precious little direction from the federal courts and the wider society to aid them in solving the problem. In the last analysis, the pairing of one or two schools or massive busing may not reduce the real core of the problem of equal education opportunity or achievement. Ultimately the consumer gap between the "haves and have nots" may well have to be reduced. Furthermore, until some dramatic policy is established to erase this existing gap, eliminating community schools may have limited effects. Such was the case with Feeder High School. Turning it into a Junior High and sending the pupils to a formerly all white high school essentially terminated the only viable source of community identity for the students who do not normally continue to college.

PART II: THE SCHOOL'S SUBSYSTEMS

The proposition has been put forth by a number of scholars (Burnett 1969; Scrupski 1975; Waller 1965) that a school system is crosscut by at least three subsystems: the administrative, the academic, and the students. Each of these subsystems as they affect the process of interracial schooling at CHS are discussed in the three chapters of this section.

ADMINISTRATION SUBSYSTEM

Order and Administration

Natural sequences of events which are the substance of ethnographic studies also allow, on occassion, unique research experiences. CHS did afford such an experience by constructing a natural experiment for our investigation. The natural experiment provided an opportunity to better understand the significance of administrative styles to school processes. The dymamics of desegregation led to the transfer of the principal after the first year of our study and his replacement. The styles of the two men varied greatly, and the effects of the change were significant to the process of interracial schooling at CHS.

The Demise of a Principal

As is obvious to even the uninitiated to school routines, principals play a major role in the dynamics of schooling. To the students, parents, and teachers, he or she is both a threat and a protection. He is empowered to make decisions that can almost destroy a student's or teacher's school career, while concomitantly serving as a moral and behavioral guardian who is responsible for the inculcation of appropriate values and skills in children, and for the successful negotiation of teacher role by those who ascribe to such a status. As such the principal's role is a duplicitous one. He is responsible for an orderly instructional and educational setting which has become the hallmark of quality education while knowing that

such order is not necessarily educational and/or responsible behavior. Nevertheless, the principal's charge is to manage the career development of parents' children and teachers, and is empowered both as an advocate and as a police officer.

While this dilemma which is engendered in the principal's role seems ominous even in itself, school desegregation makes the resolution of it even more problematic. It was with this realization that the white principal of CHS retired prior to the beginning of the 1972-73 school year. The central administration turned to the Black assistant principal of the former Black high school that was to become the feeder junior high school to CHS, and offered the position to him with the provision that his decision be made within two days. He accepted the position.

From the outset, it was evident to him that he was potentially a marked man. The central administration regarded CHS as a showcase for desegregation.[1] Further, the news media chose to use CHS as the "barometer" of desegregation and regularly invaded the school. As the principal related it to the newly desegregated student body: "We are living in kind of a fishbowl on how desegregation can work."

The problems to be faced were many and these will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The primary problem as far as

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1. This, in fact, was one of the major reasons why this site was suggested to us. We asked for a "good" school and they gave us the one they thought was the best at that time. The central administration has since amended this assessment.

the central administration was concerned was "to keep the lid on"--no matter what. The principal recognized this and further realized that one faction of the student body and one faction of the teachers were particularly influential within the community. The "honor students", as we call them, came from elite families within the city who, while being liberal enough to "try" desegregation,[2] were not above using their influence. The "old guard" were the remains of the faculty which had served this elite class and were thus capable of mobilizing influence in the community as well as within the school system given their recognized reputation as the best teachers in the system.[3]

Given the power of these factions and their allegiance to one another, the principal allowed them considerable influence within the school. The old guard received the better classes (populated by the honor students) and were last to receive additional teaching assignments which later became necessary. The honor students were allowed control of student government and student honors. Whenever possible both whites and Blacks received "best dressed", "best student", etc. The selection of representatives for the student council was controlled by minimum grade and behavior requirements, teacher approval, and finally student elections--all of which gave the elite white students an advantage over the other students.

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2. "Try" seemed to have two simultaneous meanings of "attempting" and "putting to the test" to these parents. Thus desegregation was at risk for these parents.

3. As will later be shown, the principal actually underestimated the power of these groups.

For about three years, the "lid" stayed on. The school and the principal maintained their "showcase" designation. Furthur, while white enrollment dropped dramatically in the system and fewer and fewer were promoted to CHS, the white students were not leaving CHS in any large numbers. Thus desegregation, a cause in which the principal believed fervently, was seemingly being accomplished. However, it should be noted that desegregation meant the retaining of white students--not Black. Black students were regularly suspended for offenses for which whites were merely reprimanded. The lack of discipline exercised towards the white students was commented upon by both white parents and the teachers. As one teacher put it: "When I send a student--white--down to the office, the student is right back in my class again." Other disgruntlements were evident as will be discussed in later chapters, but nonetheless the lid stayed on.

By the time we began our observations, optimism was fading fast. Small enrollments had prompted the elimination of some advanced placement and foreign language classes. The old guard teachers had begun to transfer to suburban schools. Black students and parents had been and continued to be alienated from the school. White parents complained about a lack of discipline within the school.

In this setting, the demise of the "marked" principal was effected. The white female social science teacher, a member of the old guard, transferred to a suburban school and was replaced by a Black female who had been in a professional development program at the central administration offices. While no one

else knew this except possibly the principal at the time, this teacher had been administratively transferred a number of times and was regarded as incompetent by at least one of her superiors in the central administration.

The honor students became almost immediately dissatisfied with her teaching. She assigned homework, required them to pay attention in class, and chided them for their laziness. While her competence may have been questionable, it appears that what disgruntled the students may well have been her "standards." Their performance on her examinations was poor; they rarely completed their homework, and she was unyielding to their demands. Nevertheless, she was lax in returning homework and examinations and was reluctant to take class time to go over basics and computational errors the students had made. She maintained they should already know such things in order to be in the advanced classes or at the very least should be able to sharpen such skills on their own.

It was this multiperspectival reality that forced a confrontation. Many of the honor students were angered and went directly to the principal to complain. The principal looked into the situation and decided to support the teacher. After continued complaints to the principal were met with support for the teacher, the majority of the honor students declared war. They went to the old guard whose allegiance seemingly required a sympathetic response. The old guard began to complain, but were reluctant to confront the principal even though they made it well known whose side they supported.

The honor students had previously not mobilized their parents for support. In fact, parents had all but ceased to exist as far as the school was concerned. The P.T.A. had not met yet that year. The Principal's Advisory Committee consisting of parents had been essentially recruited by the principal and rarely met. Parents to this point had been successfully "cooled out." The honor students had been so secure in their power that even though they might complain at home, they requested their parents to stay out. One mother related her daughter's response to an offer of intervention: "Mother, I can handle it."

With their influence stunted, however, the honor students initiated the mobilization of their elite parents. The parents were concerned. They called the principal, came to the school, and talked with both the principal and the teacher. The teacher wavered but little in the face of the onslaught, and the principal stood firmly in support of her --after all, "standards" were at stake and the old guard had repeatedly demanded that standards be maintained. Unfortunately, in retrospect, it appears that only their standards were to be immutable.

The elite parents were in a dilemma. Their liberal ideology supported desegregation even with some possible educational costs to their children, as they had originally viewed it, but were the costs now too high? They met and discussed the dilemma. With the support of their children, they decided that the teacher incident was an indication of the ineptness of the principal. They recounted the discipline problems, the principal's low key response to their complaints. They noted the erosion of the

academic program with fewer and fewer accelerated classes being offered.[4] They resolved that further action was dictated since seemingly there were two significant problems at the school, school security and the quality of education. Actually, the first issue was added to the bill of particulars late in the process of parents considering what basis upon which they should act and remained somewhat secondary throughout the year.

It seems that the development of these two issues was a major determinant of what further action, if any, was to be taken. Being influential people in the community, the parents were not going to take on the school just to resolve the incidents their children brought to them. The result of their search for the "basic issue" was that there were significant quality of education problems at Crossover. Of course, this conclusion was largely based upon the reports of the honor students to their parents.

The parents went to the area superintendent with their complaints instead of to the principal. The parents interpreted his response as protecting the principal. The area superintendent explained the course offering problems and recited his faith in the principal and promised to look further into it. As a result of this action, the only P.T.A. meeting of the year was

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4. School system policy specified minimum enrollments for classes to be offered. The small number of white honor students when distributed across the desired number of accelerated classes, and the "active Blacks" desire for higher grades leading them to enroll in "standard" classes conjoined to eliminate them from the curriculum. Nevertheless, the principal was held responsible.

called. The meeting was hoped to result in once again "cooling out" the parents. The principal and the area superintendent both spoke about the problems, actions that had been taken, and the recalcitrance of some problems. The parents, Black and white, were generally not convinced, and began to vocalize their concerns and left still disgruntled.

The elite white parents decided to use their influence. They utilized their social networks and developed a direct "white line," as the principal was later to term it, to the central administration and the school board. In most instances, they began to by-pass the principal and the school, and went directly to the sympathetic ear of a school board member. Finally, however, the school board member convinced the parents that for their concerns to have a proper hearing, they would have to go through channels and appeal through the lines of authority within the bureaucracy.

In their working up the bureaucracy, a significant event occurred. At the school level, the principal and parents understood the problems in the same way. Nevertheless, the principal, while quite defensive, argued he was powerless to make the necessary changes. When the white elite parents got to the school system's central administration, they were pressed to define precisely what they meant by "quality of education." Possibly through the design of the Administrator to "cool out" the parents, it ended up that the parents had defined the problems in a way that left them uneasy. It was resolved that the problem was defined as inadequate bureaucracy within the school. The parents

were certainly ready to agree that the principal was a problem, if not the major problem, and the central office administrator argued that what was needed was a principal who could enforce the bureaucracy and thereby guarantee "quality" education.

The parents left the meeting with assurances that something would be done. Their impression was that the principal would be removed, probably by transfer to an elementary school.

Following the advice to work the bureaucracy, they went back to the area superintendent and then directly to the Superintendent of Schools. The parents left the latter meeting "feeling let down," according to one parent. Some of these parents began to reanalyze the problems at CHS. They indicated subsequently that at least some of the problems were "system" problems, and could be directly attributed to the Superintendent.

A malaise resulted from these encounters. The parents were still concerned but were uneasy as to how to act, and the mobilization began to wane. Even with the formation of a new PTA for the next year and some action by Blacks to keep the principal some began to interpret the battle as futile.

Toward the end of the year, the old guard became aware of possible transfer of the principal. They became concerned. Their influence, they began to realize, had persisted through the desegregation process only because the principal had allowed it. The old guard spirited and manned a petition to retain the principal. They maintained that they had not anticipated the transfer outcome; they had only wished for the principal to be more susceptible to their influence.

The honor students showed only slight remorse. The lower class Black students who had disproportionately been subject to the principal's discipline were in many cases glad to see him go. The principal was transferred during the summer. He was not even notified. He learned of it from his secretary who obtained this information from a secretary who wished to transfer to CHS with the newly assigned principal, for whom she worked. A call to the superintendent confirmed the transfer.

The reputation of the new Black principal preceeded him. He was known to be a "tough cookie" who ran a "tight ship." The coaches had heard through their network that he was a "student's principal." Other schools began to recruit the old guard teachers; they wanted to "skim off the cream." A few transfers resulted, and the new year began with apprehension.

Given the preceeding controversy, the new principal believed the problems at CHS were two-fold--discipline and quality of education. His strategy was to attack the former immediately and develop the latter. His discipline was strong, which the school participants had seemingly demanded in his mind.

He cleared the halls of students. He declared a guidance counselor surplus and then replaced her, even though the impropriety of this was noted by many of his staff. While the first principal had lacked dramatic community support, he at least was well connected in the Black networks both within the school system and in the Black neighborhood which Crossover served. The new Black principal, while having achieved great administrative success in the past, lacked the support of networks in

and out of the school. He was not as much a part of the Black school system network, not part of the Black neighborhood network, lacked the immediate support of any teacher faction, and quickly lost the support of even the honor student network by eliminating their preferred status within the school. The elite white parents network, however, was full of praise even as some of their children transferred to other schools for a higher quality education and for access to student honors. In any case, these were not seen as problems due to the new principal, but to desegregation, the past principal, and the school system. He reassigned the coaches from study hall duty to large sections of social studies classes. He increased teaching leads even to the point of assigning each of the two guidance counselors to two classes each day in addition to their guidance responsibilites. He was very visible within the school and very coercive. He said he would eliminate anyone who was "not on the program," teacher or students, and did.

The school became uneasily quiet and closed. Students initially feared him, as did the faculty. No allegiances could be counted upon to insulate oneself from possible punishment. Faculty meetings were said to have become lectures in which questions were not to be raised or comments made. Student assemblies were patrolled by teachers as the principal chided the students for misbehavior and noise. His assembly dismissals were dotted with seemingly paternalistic praise for their cooperation. Control was the order of the day. If that was lacking in the past and

the previous principal had "failed" because of it, the new principal was going to succeed by establishing order.

As the year progressed, the situation "normalized" somewhat. He received tacit support from most networks since their interests required at least some support from him. However, the halls once again were not clear of students during classes. Teachers put in for transfers and students transferred, withdrew or were pushed out. Some students became accustomed to his procedures and developed friendly ties. One teacher even commented that "things were fine." But he also noted that he had been unaware of the problems attributed to former administration.

The Natural Experiment

With this background, let us now return to the natural experiment our study was able to document. Obviously, the central problem is defining what was actually changed over the two year period. For example, each principal had a distinct personality, each also perceived and had a somewhat different setting and context in which to act. Nonetheless, the similarities outweigh the differences. What varied was the philosophy and everyday action that the philosophy required. In the setting, however, the effects of the philosophy and action were not distinguishable. They were intertwined in the everyday action of the school.

Further, it would seem that for the natural experiment to be of most utility for researchers and practitioners alike, a higher level of analysis needs to be employed. Nevertheless,

it must be grounded in the observations and accounts that depict the setting and constitute our data. Given these understandings, it appears that requirements of a higher level of analysis, groundedness of the analysis and an assessment of what changed in the setting is best captured by developing characterizations of "order" as engendered in the administrative styles of the two principals. A consideration of rules and enforcement in Crossover High School will help "ground" these characterizations. Following the grounding of the characterizations of order we will then attempt to assess the most direct effects of change on the various school participants.

Rules and Enforcement: Elements of Administrative Style

In any school there are rules that attempt to prompt "appropriate behavior." As with most rules in our society, school rules are based on the assumption that penalties will deter illicit behavior. Unlike much of the research on deterrence, which reveals it to be a complicated issue (Tittle and Logan 1973), the rationale for deterrence in schools is rather simplistic. Each principal of CHS argued that order is necessary for learning to take place in the classroom, and that schools should be safe places for students to attend. Yet they did vary in how they saw rules and in their understanding of "deterrence."

These differences between the two principals can be somewhat elucidated in an analysis of rules and rule enforcement. In any setting for which rules have been developed, there

appear to be at least two distinct sets of rules. One set of rules is more or less universalistic and impartial. This set of rules is considered legitimate by most of the constituents, and when it is enforced the offender will display more vexation at being discovered than at the existence of the rules. The second set of rules is negotiable. This negotiability stems from two sources. First, the legitimacy of these rules is challenged by some body of constituents. The challenge is usually on the basis of unfair discrimination either against a constituent group or against youth in general. Second, the administration sees it as in its best interests to withhold enforcement selectively so that the offender is indebted to the administration. In this way, nonenforcement of this set of rules is intended to elicit students' commitment to and compliance with school authority.

Thus, for both principals, deterring illicit behavior via rules and rule enforcement involved two levels of understanding of deterrence. On one level, and for the impartial rules, deterrence was argued to be promoted by strict and universalistic enforcement of rules. For these rules, the invoking of penalties was believed to reduce the likelihood that students would engage in illicit behavior. On the second level, the negotiability of some rules was allowed so that commitment to the school could be fostered by personally indebting the students to the administration for the nonenforcement.

It is now possible better to define bureaucratic order and negotiated order. The former is characterized by more reliance

on impartial rules (which from now on we will call bureaucratic rules), and the latter is characterized by more reliance on negotiable rules. The styles of each type of order are distinct, but they have many similarities and are bound by the parameters common to all public schools. In CHS, the first Black principal established primarily negotiated order, whereas the second established primarily bureaucratic order. Bureaucratic order, as seen in this school, assumed the legitimacy of the principal's authority and the recognition of that legitimacy by all constituents. Thus, bureaucratic order, overall, enforced rules with impunity. Negotiated order, as we observed it, did not take that legitimacy as given. Rather it was something that had to be developed and cultivated, even as rules had to be enforced.

The types of order were characterized by different enforcement strategies. Bureaucratic order was enforced by the principal himself. He administered discipline and he patrolled the halls. Further, the bureaucratic principal developed an informal record keeping mechanism. He allowed students three "official visits" to his office, which he recorded on cards in a file in his office. By and large, these infractions were ones for which the formal administration of discipline would have been difficult, since evidence of the infraction was lacking or not collected. Thus, an "informal" disciplinary talk occured. After three of these visits, the student became subject to suspension for an infraction for which evidence was present. Without three unofficial visits, a student with a similar offense generally would not be suspended.

The negotiable principal enforced order via a network. He, the vice-principal, and the administrative assistant all were responsible for administering discipline. Usually, however, the negotiable principal would not make the discipline decision. The vice-principal and/or administrative assistant would do so, and would call in the principal only when extenuating circumstances were present. Conferences between the three were frequent, however, as discipline decisions were made. The negotiable principal patrolled the halls, as did the bureaucratic principal. Yet the negotiable principal put more emphasis on teachers enforcing order in their classrooms and in the halls that did the bureaucratic principal. Further, the athletic coaches were given responsibility for maintaining order in the halls under the negotiable principal, which was discontinued under the bureaucratic principal. The coaches under the negotiable principal were informal disciplinarians. They would "prompt" movement on to classes, the removal of hats, and elimination of jostling in the halls. Their approach, by and large, was to cajole students into compliance. Yet, only rarely would they in fact refer a student for formal discipline. In practice, they engaged in supervision but not in disciplinary behavior. Thus, the negotiable principal attempted to enforce rules informally through a wider network of teachers and coaches, as well as through the formal discipline meted out by the administrators.

The styles, then, differ in some crucial dimensions: the degree to which authority is vested in the principal and how

informal discipline is managed. The bureaucratic-order principal was the disciplinarian of the school, and managed both formal and informal discipline. The negotiated-order principal delegated his disciplinary authority and separated formal from informal discipline by asking the coaches to manage the day-to-day supervision and enforcement of minor rules and by allowing them discretion on enforcement. In essence, he delegated negotiable as well as bureaucratic authority.

The Dynamics of Power and Order in a Desegregated High School

School desegregation in the United States has found many educators unprepared for a multicultural educational setting, regardless of the educational rhetoric of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Both principals of CHS, during the two years we observed it, had to face the issue of student power, and each responded differently. However, a fuller understanding of the context can be gained from a history of race and power in the student body and their interaction with teacher and administrative subsystems.

Desegregation at CHS meant a dramatic transformation for the school. Not only had it previously been all-white, but it also had a history of being a public "prep" school for middle- and upper-class youth in the city. For the new negotiable Black principal, the school represented both a threat and a promise. The promise was that if desegregation went smoothly at the school, then he would gain the publicity and reputation that would bring further advancement in the school system and prestige

in the general community. The threat was that is it did not go smoothly, both he and desegregation, a cause in which he believed fervently, would be panned.

The influx of Black students and some school flight by middle- and upper-class whites led to the development of essentially four large student groups that were, for practical purposes, networks of students. These networks we have termed honor students, blue-collar whites, active Blacks, and lower class Blacks. Each network was relatively distinct, both on racial and class characteristics. The honor students were middle- and upper-class white students who, by and large, populated the "accelerated" classes offered at CHS. The blue-collar whites demonstrated less commitment to success in school and more to the street; some were middle-class but most were working class. The active Blacks were a small group of students relatively committed to success in school, and some were in the "accelerated" classes. They were from higher-status families than were the lower class Blacks. Yet their social class was more akin to that of the blue-collar whites than to that of the honor students, inasmuch as they came from essentially working-class homes and had parents who were stably employed. The lower class Blacks were from the housing projects in the neighborhood and were poor. They had a relatively strong commitment to behaviors and attitudes and styles that are common on the "street."

In short, three variables differentiated the students: Class, race and commitment (school vs. street). Blacks have

been, and are, a numerical majority in the school (approximately 60 and 70 percent for each year of observation, respectively). However, as we have discussed earlier, the first Black principal was in the spotlight to make desegregation "work," which included satisfying educational and order requirements of all concerned. As a result, the principal established a system of negotiated order whereby each of the groups could have influence. But the honor students were from highly politically influential families whose loss from the school would demonstrate the failure of desegregation. Thus, the principal felt obligated to grant some additional influence to the honor students. This influence ended up guaranteeing them essential control of student activities and honors. In those arenas where control was not complete, most notably sports and elected honors (best dressed, etc.), the honor students either withdrew (as they did for most sports) or were guaranteed equal respresentation with the Blacks (elected honors had Black and white victors). The honor students were able to maintain their support by mobilizing the teachers (who "respected" these students), the blue-collar whites, and the active Blacks (who were attempting to gain admission into the honor student network). The lower class Blacks were the contenders in the student power confrontations, and on occasion were able to pull some support from the active Blacks, usually via ridicule ("You've been eating cheese" or "You're a Tom"). However, many of the active Blacks felt it was necessary to maintain their "street"

repertoires so they would be able to actualize that option if the school denied them access to success in academics and the world of work.

Thus, negotiated order had the intriguing facet of permitting issues of race to be salient to the process of schooling. Racial and cultural differences could be discussed, and tolerated to some extent, although the street culture was not tolerated to any significant degree. This carried over into the discussions of school crime and disruption. That is, attributions concerning the "whites" and "Blacks" as perpetrators and victims were allowed and common. Disagreements could be phrased as racial in origin, and the groups were allowed to segregate themselves in informal activities if they chose. The annex to the school was the "recreational study hall," which quickly became a "Black" area. The library was the scene of the "nonrecreational study hall," which was largely white. Overly simplistic perhaps, two schools did seem to exist under one roof, a school for Blacks, and a school for whites. Each style was respected in the school.

Under the negotiated order, students seemed to perceive the rules as legitimate, inasmuch as they were the product of the peace bond that had evolved to keep the lid on the desegregation of the school. The bond was continually evolving as the constituents of the school vied for influence. Thus, while there was no formal mechanism for students to participate in governance, their role in rule formulation was evident. Further, since enforcement of rules was largely informal, and of "prompting" character, the

offenders rarely needed to consider whether or not to confront the legitimacy of the rules, and, thus, they never developed a stance of defiance. That is, the enforcement strategy did not force students to face the issue of whether or not to remain committed to the rules of the school. Simply, the penalties were rarely severe enough to cause a reconsideration of commitment to the school.

Of course, some students were forced to face that decision and were essentially uncommitted to the school. For students exhibiting a street style of behavior or an obvious lack of respect for "appropriate" school behavior, formal authority was quick to be imposed and negotiability of enforcement and punishment was drastically reduced. Further, a student exhibiting such behavior and/or attitudes was not permitted the range of negotiability of enforcement that committed students had. As it turned out, this seemingly penalized Blacks more than whites, and it was a common complaint by both teachers and Black students that whites were often not sufficiently disciplined. As noted before, one teacher put it this way: "When I send a student--white--down to the office, the student is right back in my class again." However, teachers commonly complained of a general leniency on the part of the principal. Conversely, one Black student commented on what she thought was overly harsh treatment of the street-wise Black youth, "They do all the dudes (in the housing project) like that." While these accusations of discrimination are alarming, most persons familiar with schools

will realize that they are not really unusual. But there is something significant about these accusations in this case. School participants under negotiated order felt free to lodge these complaints in the company of other participants, whether they shared the same network or not. Thus negotiated order allowed participants to express their opinion quite freely.

In many ways, it was this freedom that damaged the principal's credibility and led to his transfer to another assignment. His replacement was led to believe that the "failure" of his predecessor was due to "lack of order." Further, the new principal had a reputation of "running a tough ship." Since desegregation had thus far "failed" at CHS, and since that was believed to have resulted from a "weak" administration, bureaucratic order became the vehicle to turn this around. The new principal centralized authority into his own hands and began to formulate and enforce rules. His concern was to "turn the school around" and increase the quality of education at CHS. Success in these endeavors seemed to require the opposite of what was assumed to have caused the "failure." Therefore, rule enforcement was to be less negotiable and more impartial. The new principal ran the ship. His administrative assistant (a Black female) and vice-principal (a white male carry-over from the former principal) were assigned to curriculum development and attendance, respectively. Teachers and students alike were held accountable and disciplined for infractions.

The same networks of students were evident, even though some of the faces had changed. Overall, the white population had decreased, even though the new principal brought in four classes of multiply handicapped seemingly to help boost the white enrollment. This white loss was most evident in the honor students, who suffered the greatest loss in terms of the size of their network. Seemingly more important than the shrinking size of this network was the power loss they suffered under bureaucratic order. Because rules were imparital, the quotas for white representation in elected honors were no longer in force. The honor students at first were not dismayed because they felt that the Blacks, who were even more in the majority this year than last, would continue to respect them and in the end vote so that both whites and Blacks would receive honors. However, the Blacks did not vote for many of the white candidates, and the elected honors of the school no longer went to the "best" students in the eyes of the honor students.

While race was no longer a salient issue as far as the bureaucratic principal was concerned, the school's identity became more firmly Black in the eyes of the students. While under the former principal it had been easy to discern the variables that differentiated the students, i.e., class, race and commitment, it now became more difficult. These variables continued to be important for the teachers, who used them to refer students to the principal; and with the centralization of authority, the referrals of students by teachers increased. Note, for

example, the following episode:

> A Black male entered the room wearing a stocking cap. The teacher (a white female) ordered him to remove it, which he did. However, as he removed the hat, he assumed a stance with his shoulders held back, arms falling straight down a little behind his sides, his chin thrust forward, and sauntered back towards his seat. The teacher, at the sight of this, ordered him to the office. Within one minute a white male entered wearing a baseball cap. She said in a stern tone, "Robert, your hat!" He responded by whipping his hat off, and turning his head to show the sides and rear of it, said, "See my new haircut." The teacher responded, "Yes, it's very nice." He strutted to his seat triumphantly.

Thus, life in the classroom still granted more negotiability to the higher-status, white and committed students, and these students continued to use or "hustle" in the classroom the discretionary interpretations of their behavior, as had been done during the negotiable principal's reign. Further, students were quick to discern, but did not openly or freely discuss, that grades, "achievement" scores, and "conduct" history (another indicator of school commitment) were the crucial factors in the disciplinary decision the bureaucratic principal made for any particular infraction; that is, the punishment decision depended not so much on the actual infraction, but on the student's history. While corporal punishment continued not to be the policy of the school, the bureaucratic principal did introduce a form of punishment that previously had not been used. For a student beyond the age of compulsory attendance, his/her academic and conduct history in large part determined whether a rule violation resulted in suspension or being "dropped from the rolls." For

example, a student guilty of fighting who had low grades and a history of at least three official visits to the principal's office would simply be withdrawn without official expulsion from public schooling, while a student guilty of fighting who was a good student and did not have three official visits would receive a short suspension.

As a result of the more formalized enforcement of rules, "prompting" of acceptable behavior by school staff was replaced with action and punishment by the principal. Students were more and more often faced with the decision of whether or not to comply willingly with school rules. They had to face and evaluate the costs incurred by remaining committed to the school. They had openly complained about racial discrimination under negotiated order, but now did not openly complain about the injustice they felt from the principal's unilateral discretionary power. They saw the bureaucratic principal as having discretion, but they were not allowed to attempt to negotiate it. As the principal put it:

> No one can argue with me...when I have all the cards (records of official visits) in my hand. I don't kick them out of school, they do.

Under bureaucratic order, students seemingly do more questioning of the legitimacy of rules and the principal's right to enforce them. The student role is passive and weak. The increased severity of penalties (withdrawal from school) and relative lack of negotiability under bureaucratic order seems to have led to the emergence of an organized front challenging

the school. Hats, and particularly hats that connote "pimp", are seemingly more common in the school. In general, street-type clothing styles are more often worn within the school. Further, open defiance of rules is more common and organized. Male students, Black and white, from the vocational school behind CHS refuse to wait in the auditorium for the bell indicating time to change classes. However, while students would "skip" and "hide" under negotiated order, these students now stand at the doorway in the center of the hall that the classrooms open upon, wear their hats, and glare down the hall. They do not scatter or move back as the principal approaches. They stand quietly and defiantly. In one of these encounters, witnessed by the authors, the principal demanded, "Why aren't you in the auditorium? Don't you know the rules?" One student responded, "You weren't there." The principal retorted, "You mean I have to be there for you to obey the rules?" There was no response from the five males, except quiet and emphatic defiance. The bell rang and the principal shook his head sadly. The students went on to class.

In short, under bureaucratic order the rules of the school became "his rules"--the rules of the principal. Their legitimacy was not established, and the students seem to have begun responding collectively. Defiance has resulted.

This rather elaborate analysis of the effects on student behavior of the change in styles of order are characteristic of the two principals and can be extended to assess the effects of

the change upon teachers, instruction, and the influence of parents. As noted earlier, the situation had rather dramatically altered with the change in administrative leadership. While we certainly do not believe that principals are omnipotent in defining the school milieu, it does seem that within the limitations of school system policy and expectations and "good educational practice" as defined by staff and others, that the principal does negotiate order. The style of order, while possibly influenced by the expectations of others as noted above, is largley the result of the principal's decision on how to conduct the school. As a result of this, it could be expected that a change in style of order would most effect students since they usually are not permitted to place strict limits on the principal's behavior. We have seen how the first principal did allow students to set limits because he believed that to be the only way to retain whites and to keep the lid on, and seemingly this did work. The second principal was led to believe by the controversy that had erupted that the problem was one of too much student freedom, even though he was unaware of the negotiated power arrangements. He saw discipline as the answer.

We would expect less influence resulting from the change in style of order on the teacher and parent networks. The former is insulated somewhat given the principal's need for the support of his/her staff, unionization, and other sources of power of lower participants in an organization. The latter is obviously independent of the principal and as such represent a

source of threat for the principal, particularly in the case of Crossover High School. Nevertheless, the change in style of order did have some effect upon both networks.

The teachers were, like students, subject to a new bureaucracy within the school. Impersonal rules were applied to them as they were to the students. They were required to be on time for work, to have more class preparations and to submit lesson plans which they had never been forced to do at Crossover High School. The teachers argued that until the second principal took charge they had been respected as professionals who did the job with minimal supervision. They were disgruntled at this encroachment upon their professionalism and saw it as an almost personal affront. The coaches were moved from study halls and hall patrol to large social studies classes in which their teaching effectiveness was reported to be minimal. Faculty meetings became but forums for the principal to address his teachers without any expectation of feedback. The staff became reluctant to be seen informally talking in the halls for fear of the principal charging them with abdicating their responsibilities.

However, the bureaucratic rules which were newly imposed upon the faculty did not bind the principal. At the beginning of the school year, he confronted a Black female guidance counselor who was seemingly irresponsible in meeting the recording demands of her position. He decided to replace her. He declared her "surplus" since enrollments had declined (a request the first principal was denied by the central administration)

and after her reassignment replaced her with a new guidance counselor. The teachers were miffed at this event, but were obviously threatened by it and therefore were silent. This event seemingly proved to them that rules were something that they had to live by, but their principal did not.

The teachers began to see that there was a totalitarian element to the new bureaucratic order, and at first sought only to maintain a low profile in order to avoid ridicule and punishment. As the year progressed, however, the situation was not as well tolerated, particularly by the old guard. Transfers were sought and retirements taken, all seemingly with the tacit approval of the principal. The teachers who initially did not seek transfers were somewhat repressed, but also believed that the school becoming "tighter" was beneficial. However, some of these faculty were later reported to have wished they had put in for transfers early enough so that they would have been able to seek an acceptable position in a different school.

The parents, white and Black, who had complained about the school were quite happy with the change. The school was the "tight ship" that hallmarked a quality educational program. The other parents, as they had done before, stayed out of the school except on the occassions when they were invited by the principal to come and meet with faculty. On one such occassion, report cards were withheld until Parent's Night when parents were to pick them up from the homeroom teacher and be able to discuss their children's progress. While many parents, particularly

white parents of at least moderately good students, were glad to participate, the Black parents felt somewhat affronted given that the Black community had the tradition of "turning out" the entire family with an element of celebration. Dress clothes were worn and relatives attended.

The disgruntlement of these parents resulted from the principal's opening remarks in which he chided the parents for their not enforcing their children's attendance, and for their lack of respect for "time" and thus punctuality. The principal took on the Black neighborhood. While the disgruntled Black parents had no recourse, this disgruntlement may have had a part in the degradation ceremonies that were to follow.

While few whites engaged in these ceremonies, numerous Black families with children who received low marks picked up the report cards and embarrassed their offspring by using this forum with the homeroom teacher as a vehicle to demand better performance and behavior. These Black parents would demand that their student, who accompanied them, promise to shape up with the teacher and other parents and children as witness. These confronted students acquiesed, but resentment was high.

The white parents who demanded the change of principals, while happy with the new principal, did not wait for the new situation to fully develop before pulling their children from the school. The honor students were dwindling due to transfers to private schools and other City Schools with better programs. Intriguingly, many of these transfers were the result of the new

principal's style. While white parents continued to withdraw their children because of the lack of curriculum flexibility and accelerated courses, a new reason emerged a few months into the second school year.

White parents reported that their children were quite unhappy at the lack of social life at the school because the honors that CHS had to offer were now going to the underserving. The second principal, by removing the stipulation that awards were to have Black and white recipients, allowed democracy to prevail in a majority Black school. Whites rarely were elected to office or to awards. The rewards of being a white honor student at CHS had disappeared, and the honor students and their parents began to seek alternatives--at other schools.

Conclusion

The milieu at Crossover High School seemingly was dramatically affected by the change from negotiated order to bureaucratic order. The switch of principals led many students to challenge the legitimacy of the rules and many faculty to desire an alternative assignment. While faculty, students and parents had all been vocal critics of the first principal, the faculty and students became more aware that their vocalizing was possible only because the first principal had allowed it. When this changed, they felt put upon and began to seek alternative situations.

The natural experiment to which we were witness suggests that while school system policy may well determine in large part the success of desegregation, it is the principal who defines the milieu and thus sets the stage for how the participants understand the process of interracial schooling, and therefore their response to it. The subjectivity and emotionality that governs the interpretation of desegregation is based for participants on the setting they are experiencing. They may support desegregation but the cost to their children as they see it may dictate a personal response that is contrary to the goals they hold for school desegregation.

Of course, it must be noted that desegregation did not result from either style of order. The first principal had two schools under one roof; the second principal had a Black school even though he lacked the support of the Black community. Resegregation by ability grouping was present, and the loss of whites reduced ability grouping for both styles of order. Nonetheless, desegregation within CHS has been minimal.

CLIMATE OF LEARNING IN THE CLASSROOM

Before Desegregation

"Crossover High isn't what it was before integration!" White parents, students, and teachers, in any discussion about the school, all seemed concerned with making this point. "Before integration" referred back to when Crossover was an all white, mostly upper-middle class high school with a solid academic program for college bound youth. Further comments generally focused on the large number of scholarships received by the senior class through the years, the merit scholar awards, and how all the students used to enroll in very prestigious eastern colleges after high school. A review of newspaper accounts from years past indicated that these statements about Crossover are indeed true. The school was reputed to have had an excellent academic program from 1948 through, roughly, 1968, in terms of rigor in the classroom and competition among the student body. However, this should not be surprising given the advantages it had over other high schools in the city. For instance, the boundaries were gerrymandered in such a way as to almost completely exclude children from blue-collar homes. For most of the twenty years before desegregation there was only one high school in the system that was able to compete for resources with Crossover (i.e., the best teachers, the latest equipment, up-to-date textbooks and a good physical plant). Indeed, the rest of the system, particularly the Black high schools, subsidized this

quality education for the children of this upper-income residential area. It appears that the parents in this area were influential enough to demand the very best and their children received it. The school delivered on the academic programs and reinforced the competitive system by providing a liberal number of assemblies specifically to publicly bestow honors for scholarship.

Nevertheless, throughout these years of high status, there were a small number of children enrolled in Crossover who came from blue-collar and lower-middle class homes in the district. When these children did not rise to the academic competition or were judged as not being "college material," they were permitted to schedule courses in which they could "get by." As teachers stated, "Crossover never had tracking or levels before; that only came with desegregation." There existed that curriculum in which a child could generally move through (i.e., shop, mechanical drawing, business math, typing, ROTC, and general science). English classes were not in tracks but varied enough that a student with perseverence could endure and ultimately obtain the necessary credit. Except for the occassional outstanding athlete or an ROTC cadet who could drill well, there was very little recognition in the curriculum subsystem for this segment of the student body. They were, so to speak, <u>in</u> the school but not <u>of</u> the school. If these students did not desire to continue in their obscure status they had the ready option of moving across town to the technical high school.

Regardless of administration and teacher aspirations, the elite tone of this school began to change even before mass desegregation became a fact of life for the system. Demographic changes were taking place in the community. The prosperous middle class continued to move out further into the expanding suburbs with the concomitant demands for quality high schools. Portions of the Crossover district had been rezoned to business, further removing residential areas. Moreover, as in most Southern school systems, efforts were made to upgrade Black education after Brown II in 1955. The philosophy of the decision makers was evident: if a dual system was to continue the Memphis City School system had to make the Black schools somewhat equal. Hence, new all Black schools were built, all of which competed for scarce tax dollars. Crossover High School simply received a smaller share of the overall budget in the years that followed.

Understandably, positions at Crossover during this hiatus were considered high status in the teaching hierarchy, as indicated by a very low turnover of the teacher staff. As one teacher put it:

> "Before desegregation, we (faculty) were all together in those days, just like one big family. Someone was always having a party for the rest of the staff or at least bringing in something which they had baked to share with the rest of us. We knew we were the best teachers in the system and that we had the best students."

Moreover, these teachers identified with their students.

> "One of the greatest rewards of teaching is to see your former students do well in life. I have taught kids who are now doctors, judges and successful

> businessmen in town. I can always look back and feel I had an influence on these kids. Every now and then some of them will stop to see me and chat for awhile."

It is understandable that the teachers frequently found time to entertain classes of students and to hold club meetings in their homes. Also, it is clear that students were the beneficiaries of a great deal of personal attention from teachers both after school and during free periods. Thus, the elite students were able to draw on additional resources to insure their academic success.

If the teachers identified with the students, the parents of the students reciprocated by identifying with the school. During the 1960's active parent organizations were the rule. Large memberships were recorded in the Band Parents, the Sports Booster Club and the PTA. Events such as musical plays, or honors programs were well attended, and with these insured gate receipts school functions became lavish productions, even to the extent of renting expensive costumes and equipment when necessary. Athletic equipment was easily covered by the sale of tickets and direct subsidies provided by a few well-heeled benefactors. Before desegregation, one business leader annually contributed $2,000 to the athletic fund. Student publications such as the year book and school newspaper were subsidized with generous advertisements from the local business community. Additional equipment, such as a $10,000 language lab, was installed in the school from federal NDEA funds in the late '50's. Indeed, these had been good times for the teachers and students at Crossover,

and it is understandable why teachers can look back with some nostalgia and say that "Crossover High School is not what it used to be before desegregation." But it must be kept in mind that while the school served the college bound students successfully with a solid academic program, there was still a segment of students which, for all practical purposes, was ignored. This segment did not share in this educational affluence and to a large extent were no better prepared than students coming from other high schools across the city. In short, the climate of learning was very good indeed for only that segment at the top of the academic ladder.

After Desegregation

By 1969 outside pressures forced the Memphis City School System to voluntarily integrate its teaching staff. Some Crossover faculty were shifted to other schools while five Black teachers took regular positions in the school. At this time staff relationships began to change. For example, staff parties came to an abrupt halt. In fact, staff interaction was so strained that Black and white teachers would not even sit together in the lunchroom, causing students to remark about the obvious lack of communication between the two groups of teachers. Part of this strain in the relationship was due to the efforts on the part of the staff which we call the Old Guard to insure that no change would occur in the high quality of the school. This group was able to quietly sanction teachers in areas of dress, proper

interaction with students and appropriate classroom behavior, as they saw it. This tight network also included the office secretaries who also had long service in the school. Thus the Old Guard had a direct line to the principal's office and was able to effectively direct, in an informal way, much of the school policy. New teachers could be "shaped up" or at least their effectiveness and influence could be neutralized. This is not implying that the principal was inept, or not a strong disciplinarian, or that he was incapable of running his own program. He was committed to the strong academic program and to keeping the students in the classrooms. Toward this end, assemblies were held to a minimum, usually called only for bestowing some type of honor. Pep rallies and homecoming activities were held after school. Only limited amounts of classroom time were allotted for extracurricular activities. In sum, this first period of desegregation had very little effect on the operation of the school. The status quo was maintained; school policy was upheld.

In 1972, following court ordered mass desegregation, this climate of learning began to change very rapidly. The principal, having received the desegregation orders in the spring of 1972, opted for early retirement rather than face the problems to be encountered during the change. The Black principal chosen to fill the vacant post came to Crossover after eight years of administrative experience in the Feeder school where he was well regarded by both teachers and parents. Facing him was the thankless task of creating an effective working unit of his new staff

which was composed of half old guard and half Black teachers brought over from Feeder school. At the same time, he had to organize a widely diverse student body into a new school society. All of this was to take place in the fishbowl environment noted earlier. The main theme during the first year was, "We've got to make this work." The Assistant Principal said, "The principal is always under pressure since this is a showplace," as indeed it was. What the new principal did not realize was the extent to which he would have to deal with the effective white parent network whose informal lines of communication gave direct access to the office of the Superintendant of Schools and to members of the school board. Moreover, the Old Guard segment of the teaching staff continued its effective informal network with the avowed determination to maintain the traditional high academic standards of the past.

Many of the Black teachers who were brought over with the principal from Feeder had worked with him for as long as ten years and had been personally selected by him. This part of the faculty was assigned to English, biology, social studies, home economics, shop, distributive education, office practice, physical education, and all the coaching positions. Except for the biology teacher, most of this staff was assigned to the "non-college" track. Black teachers, prior to this time, had taught history, French and speech classes. Most of the old guard held the foreign languages, math, science, and in particular, the English classes. These new staff members generally

held a different educational philosophy on curriculum matters than what had been standard at Crossover. They wanted not only to impart academic skills to their students but also to extend sympathy for their special problems. Because of their long association and identity with the Feeder neighborhood, the teachers were sensitive to the needs and "handicaps" with which these students arrived at school. The stated philosophy of the principal was, "Save a child" and with this in mind he used suspensions as a form of punishment but expelled students only as a last resort. This philosophy was reflected in part by the teacher who said, "You spend hours trying to turn one kid around, but each night he has to go back to that same environment and try to survive. What they need is love. I try to give them love." Much time and effort were spent in trying to attend to basic needs such as finding clothing and jobs for children from needy families. Teachers from Feeder were familiar with families of many of the students and when a child got in trouble, instead of going through normal channels to contact the authorities, they would seek help from someone in the community. As the school became divided informally into territories, the rooms of certain teachers became havens or places to go during free periods and after school. This attitude of trying to meet the needs of Black children was not a case of favoritism; rather it was expected and accepted by students, parents and teachers. As one girl remarked to her teacher, "You're supposed to be my mother when I'm at school aren't you?" and the principal often expressed his role as

being one of "loco parentis." This situation is generally analogous to a small Delta town.

Much of this teacher-student interaction in this segment is spent in moralizing or "building character." It was not uncommon to hear long talks by teachers to students admonishing them to "stay out of trouble," keep away from "certain types" of students who are said to be a bad influence in the school. Much emphasis was placed on preparing students for the job market with coaching on how to dress for interviews, personality development and instilling attitudes and aspirations for upward mobility. By the same token, Black teachers were equally hard on students who could not respond. Students were accustomed to this personal interaction and looked to the teacher as a surrogate parent. If they came to class and demonstrated that they were striving, then it was generally understood that a passing grade would be forthcoming. In other words, the Black students, as they moved into the new situation, were not accustomed to the rigorous academic demands and the impersonal attitude of teachers who were the old guard.

The guidance counselor who ultimately took over the directorship of the guidance department exemplified this student-teacher relationship perhaps better than anyone of the staff. Rather than paying close attention to the child's schedule or academic needs, her major interest was in taking care of the immediate needs of the students which she perceived as clothing, eyeglasses, jobs, and in some cases, food for the family. When

a student went to her office she spent much of her allotted time simply chatting about the child's aunt or some other member of the family. Very little time was allocated to attempting to get students to remain in the academic classes or in developing methods for bringing others into the academic tracks. In many respects, the counselor saw her role as that of the "Big Mamma" of the school, which was directly analogous to that of the extended three generation family found in the Feeder neighborhood.

In summary, the new Black teaching staff added a dimension to student-teacher interaction which was new to Crossover and hence brought about greater differences in the climate of learning between the Black students and the white students.

Development of Separate Curricula

The pairing of the two schools provided the Black students with their first awareness of how far behind they were in academic work. Interviews with several Black parents indicated that formerly "good students" wanted to withdraw from school shortly after moving into the new program. Many more parents stated that their children quite often opted for courses that would place them out of direct competition with white students. Students choosing their own schedules selected those courses which avoided the rigorous work to be found in traditional academic programs. Many simply stated that they can avoid work and guarantee themselves "an easy B" by taking ROTC, vocal music, shop, and Distributive Education. English, of course was

required for all students and this became tracked by levels almost immediately after pairing. Students could take a basic English or a standard English and many of them simply reasoned that, "Why should I work hard to get a 'C' in accelerated English when I can get an 'A' or 'B' in standard English. I keep up my grade point average." Hence, those Black students who were capable of taking accelerated courses frequently would withdraw from these classes and schedule themselves into classes where they knew they would be able to achieve a passing grade. Subsequently, two curricula developed almost immediately after the pairing: one white and one Black.

Of course, it must also be remembered that ability grouping was transformed from "optional" to "standard" policy in all secondary schools as desegregation began.

A memorandum dated June 8, 1973, from the Director for the Division of Secondary Education to all junior and senior high school principals began with the statement:

> It is imperative that we have more uniformity in our academic programs as we enter into our desegregation program in the fall of 1973. Many procedures which have been optional must now become standard policy for all schools.

The memorandum continues on to discuss course levels, computation of class rank and the grading legend.

Regarding levels of instruction the memo stated:

> Assuming there is a need, all schools must offer courses on the following levels.

A. Basic- The treatment of subject matter material at a level below average in the school. Remedial work is provided students in this grouping.

B. Standard- This means average, normal, regularly pursued course of study.

C. Enriched- This course is greater in depth, broader in content, and one which requires originality and creativity on the part of the student. This course is to be limited to outstanding students.

D. Advanced Placement- This course indicates an accelerated course for pupils who have outstanding ability in the subject. This course follows very closely the outline proposed by Advanced Placement and the College Entrance Examination Board with emphasis on advanced subject matter content which is comparable to a college level course. Examples of this course are calculus and analytics, second year biology, second year chemistry, or English and American History at the highest level. College textbooks are used for these courses. Only students with superior ability in a particular course should be placed in an Advanced Placement course. Students who take the Advanced Placement test, make a high score, and plan to attend a college that participates in the Advanced Placement Program will receive college credit for work done in high school.

Thus, it was indicated that schools would have levels of instruction. Of course, the recent ability grouping controversy has revealed its existance since 1961. Significantly, however, the above memo indicated a heightened emphasis that was in direct response to desegregation. Such an emphasis did not exist when the schools were segregated. In fact, grouping was more optional.

Initially the school tried to follow HEW guidelines by attempting to match the number of Black and white students in each class. However, as many of the students began to fall behind, the administration arranged "easy classes" so the seniors would be able to graduate at the regularly scheduled time, and

in the second semester of the first year CHS had established ability groupings in English, biology, and history. Students were coded on a large print-out sheet when being scheduled in one of the four tracks: advance placement, accelerated, standard, and basic. A lower track called "resource" was added in 1975. As one administrator put it, "We were not meeting the needs of these students. The resource, we assumed, would provide special education instead of just giving social promotion." Additional courses were added in the areas of social science and art to accomodate those students not taking the traditional solid courses. Since the number of classes had to be correspondingly limited, for example, only one class of accelerated English could be scheduled for one semester, therefore for the students to get their full compliment of courses, the other accelerated courses had to be scheduled at alternative times. Hence, the students were tracked in such a way that a small number would remain together through an entire day. This led one student to say in tenth grade, "When I was in junior high. I had lots of Black friends, but when I got over here (CHS) they were just not in any of my classes. I never saw them. We kind of lost touch with each other." Another student remarked that "It's possible to go all through the years at Crossover and not have a single white person in your class."

Not only were the various levels segregated by race, the climate of learning varied a great deal between the levels. Let us compare English classes to dramatize this difference. At

the outset, however, it should be kept in mind that Crossover had an excellent staff of highly skilled English teachers, perhaps the best we have observed anywhere. Most had attended excellent undergraduate colleges and took great pride in their performance in the classroom. At no time were the old guard English teachers observed to be unprepared for their classes, even though they may not have been equipped to deal with the students from other than middle class backgrounds. They considered it an affront to their teaching ability to have to deal with eighth grade grammar in eleventh grade English. In nearly every case their specialty was literature and here they found themselves faced with large classes of students speaking a nonstandard dialect of English with concomitant poor reading abilities. Generally the literature books were ten years old and predated the curriculum adjustments made after desegregation. Moreover, teachers had to deal with an almost daily problem of disruption in addition to having students who came to class with no textbook, no pencils and no paper. One teacher described the philosophy between the levels of classes as, "In the accelerated English courses we analyze literature and in the standard classes we explain." Homework and term papers were assigned only in the accelerated classes. Generally, the accelerated and advance placement English courses have continued the rigor established when the school was primarily concerned with preparing pupils for college. They have relatively few students enrolled in these courses, usually fewer than 12 in the senior level courses.

Attendance is regular and there is no movement in and out of class once the lessons begin. There exists a personal touch in these courses not found in most of the other academic courses. For example, the teachers are thoroughly acquainted with each student and hold considerable knowledge of his family background and homelife. Since this group of students is more prominent in extracurricular activities, the student-teacher interaction occurs throughout the day in one activity or another. Hence the relationship, though not totally informal, is relaxed and pleasant.

Although the teacher would make the point that he or she can "go as fast as necessary with these kids," there was an informal negotiation played out in each class over the amount of work demanded. This informal ritual was carried out in a humorous, good natured way. (Parenthetically, this may be one of the reasons the Black teacher had trouble after taking over her advanced social science class mentioned in Chapter III. She did not understand the rules of the game or refused to play it.) The teachers in the accelerated courses were aware that the number of students enrolled in this track was declining each year, therefore, the general standards have been somewhat lowered to make the classes. Indeed some students, usually white, continued through the program without much effort. As one administrator put it, "If their parents insist, we have to keep them in the accelerated courses, even if they are failing." It was ironic that the same standards that teachers were not willing to yield

in the initial adjustment to desegregation were now more flexible to accomodate the white students who remained in the increasingly Black school. The administrators and the teachers simply did not wish to lose what few white students they had enrolled.

In the accelerated course, the classroom procedure was flexable with a larger percentage of the time devoted to discussion of assigned written reports and literature. Plays were presented in class as a group effort; students produced the scripts, directed and designed and made costumes. Rehearsals were organized in the evenings in a private home away from the campus. In general, the teacher filled most of the class period with activity and recitation; little time was given student preparation of homework.

In contrast, the written assignments for standard English classes were usually only one paragraph and never more than two pages in length. Much of the class time was spent on work that would have normally been done at home or in study hall. The basic English courses were not much different from the standard classes. Again there were continuous drills on basic grammar and assignments to be copied off the board. Literature was read in class and the discussions always centered on the moral development of the individual.

In the first year of field work, as the number of teachers began to dwindle to correspond with the reduced number of students, teachers had to be shifted around and given assignments for which they were unprepared. As one might guess, those

without any experience in teaching English were given basic English classes. The level of frustration of these teachers was high. As one stated:

> "I drill these kids on the right verb tense each day and then they go right out in the hall after my class and go back to their old speech patterns. One kid told me right out that if he used what I was telling them in class, kids would think he was a fag. I'm just not getting anywhere with these kids."

In the second year of the field research basic English was combined with standard English, and generally the level was lowered to that of basic English. This was done to accomodate the large number of students taking vocational education classes for half days. The typical standard English class in the eleventh grade would contain around 25 students; usually two or three would be white and the rest Black. The white students for the most part would ignore what was going on in class and read books they had brought or simply go to sleep. On the other hand, a few Black students (usually four or five) would dominate the entire class and control the interaction between the teacher and the rest of the class. These few students were generally the best readers and capable of doing accelerated work. When asked to read they read well and would frequently volunteer answers to questions but when not interacting with the teacher they would hold the attention of close friends by joking or talking.

The following is an account of a class period in standard English:

As the students file in, the teacher comments to this researcher, "This is my worst class. If I can get by this hour,

I feel the day is over." The noise level is high; a couple of boys stand in the doorway interacting with peers in the hall; there is laughing and exchanging of gestures. As the students take their seats the two white girls in the class take seats near the window, talking quietly with each other while ignoring the other students. The Black males locate seats with friends either in the back or against the sides of the room. The class has 19 students--three white, 16 Black. The students are generally better prepared in this class than was found to be the norm in the social science classes at CHS. For example, they have paper, books and pencils. The teacher stands at the front of the room, a cold stare on her face, waiting for the class to become quiet. Roll is taken; students entering late are asked for tardy slips and those who were absent the previous class period are asked for admit slips. After roll call the teacher admonishes students about the current grading period. "Some of you don't have any marks in my book. Now you can get a passing grade this marking period, but you have to come to class and try." After a lengthy monologue about the need to make a greater effort she starts to talk about a forthcoming test. "We will have an exam if there aren't any interruptions from another assembly. Now, let's go back in the books for a review." She is interrupted by several comments and questions spoken out to the class without the raising of hands. She waves her hand in a gesture for the students to be quiet. "You need to know the answers to questions in the back of the chapter." There are now three students with their heads on the desk, one is a white girl. The other white girl is reading a novel. Three boys are finishing work from the assignment for yesterday. One is copying the assignment from a girl in front of him. The teacher goes on, "Please spell author's names correctly on the next test." She then calls on a boy who is volunterring to read by rapidly waving his hand. The boy begins, but when he comes to a word the teacher stops him and asks another boy to give the meaning. The teacher then gives the entomology of the word. A boy interrupts with the question, "Do we need to know that on a test?" The same boy volunteers to read again, but the teacher asks another student in front of the room. The student reads in a halting manner, making many mistakes. The student who just finished reading talks across the aisle to a friend; there is laughing back and forth. These two students attempt to dominate the class by continuously volunteering answers to the teacher's questions or by asking to read. (It should be noted that one of these students has been in an accelerated tenth grade English class and is far advanced for the rest of the class. He reads without mistakes and is able to answer any questions the teacher presents to the class.) At this time, 15 minutes into the hour, there are only 5 out of the 19 students actively listening to what has transpired in class. The rest are at their desks reading quietly, daydreaming or sleeping. The same two boys, still attempting to

dominate the class, are carrying the discussion and trying to hold the teacher's complete attention. However, the teacher continues to try to involve other students, asking a girl a question--she responds with total silence. The teacher's growing frustration is indicated by the changing tone of her voice. One of the boys answers another question, then she in turn asks him to read. The second boy interrupts, asking in a loud voice, "What does blank mean?" The other boy yells out the answer. An argument starts with the teacher about the word not being assigned as a vocabulary word for that particular week. The other boy, who is not arguing, laughs at the first boy's remark. The teacher quiets the class and then asks the only white boy in the class to read. This boy is a poor reader. As he makes mistakes the two disruptive boys continually interrupt and make comments. A girl is asked a question and again one of the two boys yells out the answer before the girl has a chance to respond. This boy argues with the teacher and the rest of the class laughs out and begins to talk among themselves. There are fewer people now with their heads on their desks. The teacher stops the argument by looking away with an expression of disgust. The class responds with silence. The teacher waits a couple of moments and then says, "May I go on?" One of the boys yells back, "Please do." After this incident the teacher drops the subject short, without summary or comment, and asks the students to take out a sheet of paper to prepare for a review in another text. The students are told to write out the questions in the back of the chapter. This starts another round of borrowing of paper and exchanging and sharpening of pencils. The noise level is high. Two or three students are yelling out with the hands waving wildly for the teacher to help them. One boy has his grammar corrected by the teacher. He stated, "He do?" and she would not answer his question until he repeated the statement correctly. His response was, "He do it?" The teacher turned around with a smirk; the student continued to sit there without receiving an answer to his question.

Roughly half of the students work to finish their questions before the end of the class which is still twenty minutes off. The class leader goes to the front of the room with a highly exaggerated prance (the students refer to this as a 'pimp walk'). His friend from the back of the room laughs and puts his head on the desk. The teacher moves around the room, observes the work being performed by the students and gives aid, but the noise level never subsides, with several students yelling out when they need help. Students do not attempt to read the chapter, but only search for answers in the text. The bell rings; the students do not wait for comment from the teacher. They simply pick up their materials and walk out without any exchange of appreciation or acknowledgement between the teacher and the student. After class the teacher appears upset and tense. "They really don't realize they are being rude." She

starts down a list of students in her roll book, giving the reading scores. There are some in this class with fifth grade levels and most are in ninth grade reading levels or lower. She closes the book with the comment, "What can a teacher do with material like that?"

This same class was observed twelve more times during the course of the year. Although there were few changes from what was described above, there were only two occasions when students were removed from the class and sent to the principal's office for disciplinary action. One student was assigned to a different class after making what the teacher described as "rude and obscene remarks." The two class leaders continued to dominate the class with little effort made to tone down their behavior. One was sent to the principal's office once. The other 17 students, most of them with severe reading problems, did not receive personal help at any time other than in the last few minutes of each class period that was used for homework. Although most of the class time was spent on literature, there was no attempt to relate the literature to Black life styles. Most of the emphasis in the discussion of short stories and poems was related to character building and morals. There was very little tolerance demonstrated for blue-collar life styles or non-standard dialects. Generally, there was little difference between the Black and white English teachers in their performance in the standard and basic classes, other than the Black teachers tended to be more sympathetic to the learning difficulties Black students faced. As one Black girl stated:

> "The white teacher says we're gonna have a test next week, and they give hard tests. The white teacher gives the Black students a lesson and tells you to go home and read it. The Black teacher tells you you gonna have a test next week and she will read the lesson two or three times in class. Then she go over the test. The white teacher can't understand I can't read at home. I got ten brothers and sisters at home, always making noise."

The Black teachers may have been understanding about student problems, but they did not differ from the whites about the need to learn the standard dialect. A Black English supervisor who was in the school observing referred to standard English as "acceptable English." She said, "The teacher has to recognize all levels of English, but you know kids need to understand they must learn it (acceptable English)." She went on, "There is too much class time spent on reading when there actually should be more emphasis on speaking. Much of the emphasis by Black teachers is drill in grammar, writing a sentence correctly, speaking correctly."

There is little wonder that students resented the English class, or as many said, "dread the English class." It was the one class period each day that had to be endured. It was where they learned their life style, their speech, their aspirations, and their interaction patterns were not legitimate. It was not uncommon to hear these teachers remark to Black students, "Why can't you be more like the white kids?" Not surprisingly, the students, particularly the boys, built their defenses and quietly bided their time. No amount of cajoling was able to convince them that they were wrong. One articulate senior said:

> "They (the white English teachers) don't understand what life is all about. They come here from out East (Memphis suburbs) and tell us what to do with our life. We listen and tell them we want to be a lawyer or a brain surgeon or something like that. That's what we learn to tell folks back in the fifth grade just to get them off our backs. The dudes (meaning boys) never dress up for a play like the white kids do. When a guy has to do that he's just going to stay away from class."

It was difficult to understand why so much classroom time was spent on explaining life to these youths when perhaps a third of the girls were already into child rearing and have babies at home. Some of the boys were well into the street hustle, many in fact have already slept with women the age of their teacher, yet they were frequently treated as children in these classes.

To illustrate this situation, the following case study was made between an English teacher and a tenth grade student. The Black girl came from Feeder school with sparkling recommendations for her accomplishment in accelerated courses. She was light skinned which gave her added benefits, both in the old segregated education system, and the current one. The teacher took her under her wing and intended to make a success story out of her. The girl was well coached in the academic subjects, as well as in personal deportment. The student responded with good grades and high quality performance; unfortunately however, she became pregnant in the second semester of her sophomore year. Although she kept up with her studies in the alternative school, the girl found herself persona non grata when she returned to

Crossover in the Fall to begin her junior year. When she picked up her class schedule she learned she had been dropped from the accelerated courses into basic English. The 'understanding' English teacher, who had lavished a lot of personal attention on her, now treated her like some outcast. In getting pregnant, the teacher acted as if this girl had personally insulted the teacher's moral integrity. The girl tried to pick up her course work through her junior year but finally gave up and left school by that June. This girl was probably more capable in writing and reading skills than 95% of her class. If she had been from a middle-class home, her parents most assuredly would have intervened when she was placed in the basic classes, and would probably have enabled her return to the accelerated curriculum.

The resource English classes were only attempted a couple of years and then dropped. In the first year of the field study, to observe these classes would have been a joke had they not been so tragic. They were run by a teacher with no experience in teaching reading. The special training in this class consisted of teaching the students how to fill out a job application form and reading the job-wanted column in old newspapers. Generally the students in these classes had a high rate of absenteeism and home suspensions for discipline. They responded to the class as if it were a joke and spent much of their time trying to get their teacher, who was also a coach, off on the subject of basketball during the class period. The class was in many respects dreaded, as one boy put it, "This class is for

the dummies. I guess I'm a dummy, ain't I?" Generally the students, particularly the boys, did not last long in school. Most of them had dropped out by the end of tenth grade.

This resource class was corrected the following year by reducing the number of students per teacher and replacing the coach with a reading specialist. Most of the students were returned to regular standard classes.

To summarize this section, the difference in substance between what is taught in accelerated English courses and standard and basic courses is dramatic. The accelerated courses prepare students for comprehension needed to pass college board exams. Emphasis is on reading comprehension, vocabulary development, and writing skills. These courses have the best, most experienced teachers. Students are permitted freedom in discussion and take an active part in the development of the teaching unit. Homework and report writing is extensive and the exams difficult. Students are further stimulated through direct participation in plays where they are able to prepare their own costumes and write and innovate some of the script. In other words, the top 25% of these students are receiving as good an education background in English as probably can be obtained in any private or public school in the City. As was the case before desegregation, this top group continued to matriculate at some of the best colleges in the nation. They achieved high scores on SAT and are generally well prepared in the subjects. The lower level courses, standard and basic, which are predominately Black and

represent students from have-not sections, are generally not taught well nor with any enthusiasm. The students have been passed along through the lower grades on social promotions. Most class time is used for drill in eighth grade grammar with little of substance in anything else. All emphasis is laid on changing the student's dialect to standard English but never with the thought in mind to understand the structure of the student's own non-standard English. No homework is required. Development of reading skills is completely inadequate. As one kid put it, "In these classes, if you come to school and don't cut up, you pass." In this situation the teachers do not have much latitude. They are given classes which are often too large for any personal attention to student needs. Even if the teachers were prepared, with so many students with low reading skills, a few disruptive students can effectively create turmoil. Hence, the teacher ends up merely attempting to control these few. Moreover, too many failures and too much noise in the classroom is considered evidence by the administration of poor teaching performance. Frustration, therefore, runs high for both the teacher and the students in the lower level classes, which further creates stress in the Black-white relationships. Conflict is always just below the surface. The most skilled teacher, with the best intentions, usually succumbs to a negotiated order for her classroom: for example, the teacher will give a passing grade and minimal assignments if the students will "sit tight" and "keep the peace." Essentially, there has been no change in the climate of learning

in English classes since desegregation for either segment of the school population.

The science (chemistry and physics) and math classes did not have ability groups. As it was often said by the staff, "You either had the classes or you didn't." Basic substantive knowledge had to be gained. Those were critical to college preparation and hence middle-class parents kept the pressure on the administration to keep them in the curriculum. In the two years of observation the science class never had more than ten and usually less than eight students. With this number the teacher moved along fast; if a student could not hold the pace he was advised to drop the course. During the course of the two years only two Black students attempted chemistry (both had teachers for parents). One was continually advised to drop by the white teacher, who said the student did not have the math background. His mother kept up the pressure to stay. In frustration the student wanted to quit school and join the army. The Black counselor intervened and talked the parent into permitting him to drop the course.

Black students faced similar pressures in math classes with either Black or white teachers. For example, one Black math teacher was inordinately abrupt and impatient with Black students who had difficulty mastering the material. It was not uncommon to hear him say, "You're so dumb, I bet you can't answer the next question." When asked about why students dropped his course, he replied, "I have to maintain high standards."

These courses dwindled over the two years to only ten students in each class. However, the white students also had this difficulty with the teacher, and complained vehemently. Yet not a single Black parent ever complained.

Students who took first year algebra in the tenth grade had their own special frustrations. The fact that they had not taken the class when it was offered, either in eighth or nineth grade, labeled them as inferior students. For example, they were not in the regular track with the students in the accelerated course. They had indeed realized their mistakes and were trying to get caught up on accelerated subjects. The white teacher in the first year of the study was abrupt to these students in class, frequently showing impatience with their failure to understand an explanation. No parent ever complained about her methods; not because she was white but because of her backing by the elite whites, both students and adults. Black students, and many whites, rarely survived a year of algebra.

The social studies courses, as in most high schools, were poorly taught at CHS. There was very little substance offered whether the course was history, geography, or sociology. Coaches with physical education backgrounds were assigned to teach in this area. Since athletics was a major effort at community relations, the high school had to maintain a large coaching staff. Each coach had to teach. Since six coaches in a small school cannot all teach physical education or tend a study hall, it was necessary they be assigned to academic courses. Social studies

courses appeared to be the least of all evils so they arrived each semester with a textbook and a lot of films, both of which were leaned on extensively. Rarely did one engage in reading or conversation about any subject but sports in these classes.

The students moved through each of these periods with a minimal effort, usually sitting at their desks. A typical class consisted of having the students read the chapter and assigning the questions at the end. An extensive review was given the day before each test when the students were prepped on the answers to the questions. Keep in mind that many of these students had severe reading problems but rarely did they receive any special attention to help them deal with it. This routine was broken occasionally by a classroom discussion. Further, of all the teachers, the coaches were observed out of their class and in the halls more than any other group.

College track students were aware of the state of the classes, and thus opted out of them. But American history was required so an accelerated course was added after desegregation to upgrade the content. Complaints had been registered about this class but not adamantly enough for any action. Parents maintain "history is a subject where a kid can read the text and get what she needs. This is not true in math or science."

Other than American history, the social studies classes had been labeled "Black" by the student body. And indeed, there were usually Black students in them with only two or three whites. The classes were large, usually more than 30

students each. It should be noted here that the coaches at CHS were not particularly endeared by students other than by the athletes and cheerleaders. They were seen by the boys as enforcers of the rule. The first principal used them as a kind of administrative assistant in keeping order in the halls. Frequently, girls distrusted them, accusing them of being partial to cheerleaders. Indeed, the only threat of violence by a classroom teacher was observed in one of these classes. One coach was observed in a physical confrontation when a boy was challenged by him for wearing a hat in the halls. In short, students were kept under control in social studies; yet they may not have been taught anything except to be quiet and to stay in their seats. Since the classes were large and mostly Black, one gets the impression the administration used these courses to warehouse potentially disruptive students.

A Black Curriculum

The reader is already aware of two separate curricula developed at CHS: one white, one Black. Black students were critical of this policy and point it out when asked. One student stated, "There are Black subjects and white subjects. The white subjects are advanced English, math and chemistry; the Black subjects are basic English, D.E. (Distributive Education), Home Economics, and swing choir."

Black students planned their high school program without much assistance from guidance counselors or parents. Junior

high reading scores determined their ability groups in English, except when other factors mitigated their influence. From there they were free to choose, which means most Black students selected courses that would place them in the least competition. They avoided classes where they might be embarrassed for not being able to read or spell. If a Black student selected a course which was identified as white they were sanctioned by peers with a remark, "There ain't nothing but white faces in there." Nor would they wish to face a prejudiced teacher. Girls were particularly sure not to take a course where one of their close friends may not have been able to make it. However, the major reason was how the Black students understood the pay off of education. Most placed a high value on a high school diploma. Commonly the need was expressed, "Every one else has a diploma; I have to have one," or "can't get a job without a degree." Also Black parents from Crossover saw a diploma as a great accomplishment in their lives. Many were from rural Delta counties with minimal formal education. If they got their kids to school each day and saw a report card with passing grades they assumed they had achieved. Thus, the student, to "keep parents off their backs" took courses with minimal effort. Why stay in a standard English class and get a 'C' or 'D' when "you can pull an easy 'B' in basic English."

Moreover, even the most capable students were under a lot of anxiety about future prospects in the labor market. Keeping in mind the Crossover community and Memphis as a whole was

running about a 35% unemployment rate for adult Black males, the kids were interested in maximizing their chances with obtaining salable skills of a vocational type. As soon as the Voc Ed building was open and the option available, many jumped at the chance. One Black girl who was doing well in both English and foreign languages in her junior year was taking tailoring her senior year at the Voc Ed building. One girl who was the top Black student in accelerated English in tenth grade opted for the standard track the following year in order to take shorthand. Many simply did not see a payoff in courses not strictly applicable to employment. Stable employment with benefits and security was critical to them. For example, one student stated she "would go to college if she couldn't get in the Post Office." (The Delta is a depressed region and obtaining any job as secure as Federal employment is a real accomplishment.) Some of the best Blacks went to Distributive Education courses from accelerated English just in hope of gaining a part time job. Further, Black students who were strongly motivated to go to college, but who had been unsuccessful in the academic curriculum, enrolled in D.E. to boost their grade point average with the goal of later enrolling in the local community college, and after that hopefully in the local university. For these students, D.E. was used to facilitate a second run at the primary labor market. Thus, even the best of guidance counseling and the most effective teaching staff free of prejudice would not change the CHS

situation much. There were just too many economic pressures on the Black students for them to remain in the accelerated track. By the senior year, only those children with both parents working and a minimum number of siblings were able to survive.

The students that do survive were frequently accused by friends as "acting white," and just to get by in many accelerated classes "acting white" may well have been necessary. They had to be achievement oriented and ready to alter their dress and comportment when in class. However, athletes, if they were academically talented, were able to bend the rules of demeanor in some cases. They generally had an administrator or coach available to look out for their welfare if their grades declined in any marking period. As will be discussed in the next chapter, those students who did well academically received greater autonomy and freedom of movement outside the classroom. This in turn generated greater animosity from their peers.

Conclusion

In summary, the changes in the climate of learning at Crossover after 1971 were not so much due to racial desegregation but more to the larger ratio of students from "have-not" families. The academic track continued to serve the needs of college bound students. In some cases, this track actually improved as the teacher-student ratio was lowered to the point where senior courses became small tutorials with fewer than eight students per class. Moreover, the teachers concentrated

most of their efforts on the fewer classes in the college bound track. It was only when this number of students became so limited that the degree of rigor had to be sacrificed to retain the necessary minimum enrollment for the accelerated courses to be offered. A number of courses have had to be deleted from this track, such as speech, one foriegn language, and advanced math for precisely this reason. As has been described in this chapter, the college track program had maintained relatively high standards, demanding homework assignments, and a high level of interest in the subject and the way it was presented.

In the curriculum for the have-nots, the same courses, albeit much larger, were maintained that existed prior to desegregation, only with the addition of distributive education and more courses in social sciences. Advanced ability groups for English, history, and biology, however, lessened their standards. Homework assignments were discontinued, and much of the classroom period was given over to attempting to maintain discipline and control. Lower level subjects, such as English, were given over mostly to drills in grammar and general busywork. The climate of learning in these classes had been reduced to merely marking time and cajoling students as to the correct deportment and character one should have to survive in the labor market. Teachers perceived their role in this situation as one of merely maintaining control. In short, two separate curricula have emerged since 1971 because of a change in school system policy and the school's response to the influx of students from lower income families, many of whom are Black.

THE STUDENT SUBSYSTEM

Introduction

As noted earlier, the pairing of Feeder School with Crossover High School set in motion a complicated process of establishing new roles and territorial possessions within the student subsystem. Needless to say, the first year was very stressful indeed for these students who had listened to the wild stories about different races and the threat each race posed to the other. There were no models to follow. In its attempt "to keep the lid on," the administration kept repeating the need "to make the school a show place of integration for the city" or "the eyes of the city are on CHS so let's make integration work." Making integration work meant altering the interaction of students and eliminating the boundaries between two racial groups; in a sense, abolishment of all categories of ascription and identification. However, within a few short months the students developed rigid boundaries between the races in order to compete for the resources and rewards present in the student subsystem, mainly in the control of extracurricular activities. The students simply chose to ignore (official) school policy to wear the proverbial racial blinders.

Rather than describing cultural or sub-cultural factors conflicting in the student subsystem, this chapter will focus on those boundaries separating the races. As Barth (1969) and others have found, by contrasting boundaries, it is possible

to gain "...a recognition of limitation on shared understanding, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors assumed to be of common understanding and mutual interest" (Barth 1969:15). Thus an emphasis upon boundaries enables a fresh approach to race-social class dialogue since the goal is not to assess the relative effects of each, but to understand the interaction of ethnicity and stratification processes.

As important as academic achievement may be considered by all of these subgroups, extracurricular activities become the chief focus of a great deal of effort and manipulation by students (Burnett 1969). These activities are an important source of reward and self esteem in which the participants invest a considerable amount of time and effort. As Scrupski (1975:165) reasons:

> That adolescent peer groups would exist without the institution of extracurricular activities is certain. However, it seems almost equally certain that these activities give added visability to those who participate, indeed, allow a distinction to be made between those who do and do not participate and in that the activities tend to be ranked with respect to prestige, affect the sociometric standing of participants and nonparticipants.

At the outset the original students at Crossover had an early edge in the beginning of desegregation; they knew the territory. There was a clique of students who had been together from first grade and they were well organized. Even the white students who arrived from different junior high schools had

difficulty gaining any prominence in the subsystem. This group was referred to as the "Crossover 12 year club" by the outsiders. If white outsiders had trouble, this group made it especially difficult for the Black students. The "12 year club" would simply select only those students who fitted their image and could be shaped into defending the status quo.

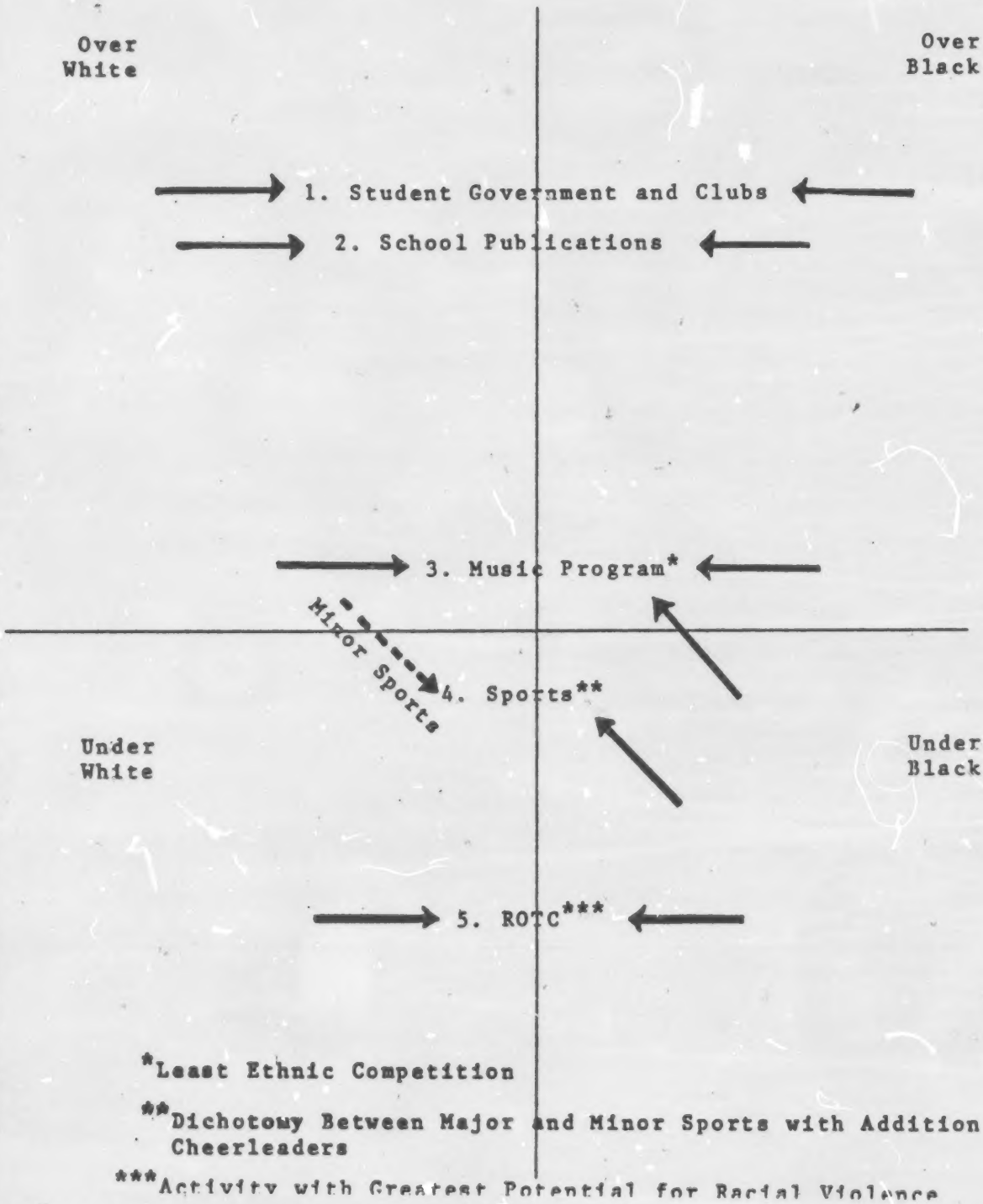
When the pairing began most of the white students then in school opted to stay rather than transfer to a private school. It was the group of Junior High students who were bussed to the Feeder Junior High that left the system. By the end of the 1975 academic year when this research project began, this 12 year club had graduated. From 1975 on, the white school population declined rapidly each year, indicating that all but those who were dedicated to desegregation or too poor to afford private school had left the public school system rather than attend the formerly all Black school of Feeder. Thus, it must be kept in mind that this description of competition in extracurricular activities has continued to evolve in favor of the Black students as they have expanded numerically over the whites (from roughly 50-50 in 1972-73, to 70% Black, 30% white in 1976-77).

The formal organizations and the activities analyzed here are sports and cheerleading, student government and clubs, music, band, ROTC and school publications. Each activity area has a separate set of rules and is assigned varying degrees of prestige in the system. A schematic presentation is affixed on the following page.

dministrative Subsystem

Research Model of School Student Subsystem

Academic Subsystem



*Least Ethnic Competition

**Dichotomy Between Major and Minor Sports with Addition of Cheerleaders

***Activity with Greatest Potential for Racial Violence

Sports

The most important student activities in terms of prestige and status position are usually focused on and around the sports teams and inter-high school competition, particularly football and basketball. Related activities are cheerleading, homecoming activities such as the selection of a homecoming queen and her court, dances and fund raising. Crossover High School was no exception. Before Crossover was paired with Feeder School its athletic achievements were limited but nevertheless games were well attended and teams were particularly well funded by the adult community through direct donations. On the other hand, at Feeder High School, athletic teams received support and a great deal of attention was focused on those individuals achieving athletic success. Feeder School had an active parent booster club, and the Black adult community took pride in the fact that this small school was able to produce state level championship teams on a regular basis. Basketball and football teams provided the community with a great deal of community entertainment, pride and identity.

Immediately after the two schools were paired, the new combination of athletic talent produced outstanding football teams. This provided both the white and Black students with some identity in Crossover. However, as white athletes became less prominent as standout players, "making the team" became less important. Only those who could achieve a regular starting position would remain on the team after the first few days of

each season. By the 1975 season there were only three white students out for football, all of them in regular positions. In 1976 the entire team was composed of Black students. Basketball was controlled by Black athletes from the beginning. The white students who could compete in these sports opted to participate on all white church sponsored teams in the City Park League.

The athletes would never discuss openly why they chose not to play for their high school--usually they gave a weak excuse to the coaches that they had jobs or were busy with school work. Privately they stated that "if you're the only white on the team it just isn't any fun. The Blacks play a different type of basketball. They do not learn to play as a team. All they want to be is a pro and make the bucks, the stand-out star. They talk about being a pro all the time." The white players who played on the 1975 football team would interact with other players only in practice or during games. When off the field or even taking a break during practice they usually stood with their own racial group.

Given this change in composition of the team, the white students say outright that they cannot identify with the teams and now consider major sports "a Black thing." In the same manner, neither the Black nor the white community identifies with the new situation. The Black community, almost from the start, considered the loss of their Feeder School a critical setback and a loss to community life. Crossover was simply dismissed

as "the white school, not theirs." Moreover, white business and community leaders stopped attending games. Private contributions fell off to zero. Immediately after pairing the two schools one white businessman informed the principal of Crossover that although he had given $2,000 to the teams in the past, he would only be able to contribute $200 in the future. The principal refused the offer out of pride. Attendance at football games over the last two seasons ran from roughly 400 on a good night to maybe 40 or 50 persons, depending upon the opposing high school. Since the athletic program was supported directly from the gate receipts and from outside contributions, this change of events left the coaches and the athletic director with little option but to scrape for additional funds in many directions. Fund raising was centered around after-game dances and selling candy during and after school. This latter task took more than a small amount of the coaches' effort to keep the program functioning.

White students simply withdrew, for the most part, from attending athletic events. During basketball games it is unusual to have as many as 10 white students. Generally only twenty or twenty-five white students attended football games. The removal of local status of sports did not, however, reduce competition in activities associated with games. The 12 cheerleading positions were divided equally between white and Black girls through 1976. This balance was officially maintained by the first Black principal to encourage "good race relations."

But nevertheless, the Black girls for most of the first four years tended to have lighter skin and straight hair. The choice of cheers or yells was evenly balanced between Black and white styles. When the second Black principal took over the high school, the recommended "balance" was discontinued as an official policy. Hence, only two white girls out of the twelve were selected for the squad. When they were informed by the new Black team captain that they no longer needed any "white type" cheers, the white girls quit the squad. Thus, the athletic teams and the cheerleading squad are now manned by the Black students.

The football homecoming is a traditional activity in which many students are able to participate. A homecoming queen and five female attendants are chosen by the athletic teams. In 1975 the white faculty sponsor of this event insisted that three of the girls be white and three Black. Again, when the policy of forced balance was discontinued, the Black athletes chose only Black candidates for homecoming queen.

White students remained competitive in only the minor spring sports such as cross country, golf, tennis, and baseball in which few Blacks were willing to compete here. Moreover, white boys had sought competition in the all-white chess club. Thus, after five years the Crossover student body had sorted out the various sports-related activities for ethnic control.

Student Government and Clubs

The most intense area of competition between the two upper cells of white and Black students is over the elected offices of student council president and senior class president. In a recent survey of the entire district carried out for the Board of Education, white parents and students chose these student offices to be the most important status positions in the school. It was considered critical to be associated with the students who held these positions if one wished to attain even a moderately high social status. Although the white students at Crossover High had always been in the minority, they had effectively outmaneuvered the Blacks and maintained control of these elected offices and many key elected positions in school clubs. It was only in the 1977-78 school year that a Black student was finally elected as student council president. There are at least two reasons for the previous control by the white minority. First, the white students from the Crossover 12 year club were effectively organized. They knew when to bring in certain Black students in order to maintain legitimacy with the student body and school administration. Second, Blacks as a group hurt their own positions in obtaining these offices by not voting for Black students in the upper cell. This attitude may have, in part, been a deliberate sanction by the under group Black leaders toward the upper group who they felt were either "acting too white" or who were in some way "copping out for a white thing." Black males who were capable and possessed the leadership skills

were aware of this attitude, and hence were reluctant to put their names in nomination for the higher offices out of fear of being ridiculed. As one put it, "If I ran for president, what would the (other) dudes say?" Thus, the more capable Black candidates did not run for office during the first four years after pairing. Black girls were less sensitive to this peer pressure and did become candidates, but they had only been successful in taking over the secondary positions such as treasurer or vice president or sergeant-at-arms. Black males expressed their attitudes about girls in these offices in saying, "They only screw things up." However, the overall explanation can be attributed to the fact that most of the underclass under Black males simply did not see any pay-off and held little interest in these activities. Many felt the whites rigged the elections anyway, so why bother to vote?

The whites had used the student offices to maintain control over activities they considered important. For example, the president of the senior class always appointed the planning committee for the annual spring prom. This committee then selected the music group, which directly influenced the style of music that would be played. Prom location also determined the accessibility by students. Thus, whether the prom would be accepted by either the white or the Black students was guaranteed by the planning committee. Since Black students were not interested in white music, they refused to attend or left the dance early.

In planning homecoming activities, the committees catered to white aspirations and activities. They tried to maintain the traditions of the school "before it was desegregated." Until 1976, Black students were brought into these activities, but only as workers and not as decision-makers. When Black students failed to put forth the effort in decorating or other work assignments, they were chastised by the whites as being unwilling to participate in school activities or as not displaying the "proper school spirit." A Black girl was placed in charge of the prom committee in 1977 but she had been one of the few who had attended Crossover elementary before pairing. Hence, she was held in high regard by the white leaders.

If the over-class Blacks participated in these school activities, it was necessary to cooperate with the over-class whites as a group. For those who were encouraged to participate, this encouragement was based on their committment to white group norms, i.e., clothing and hairstyles were moderate, standard English was used, and they needed to show some aspirations for future achievement such as getting a college education. The Black students who effected these norms were included. Others who gained access to elected positions but were not willing to emulate these restrictions eventually became categorized as "deadwood" or "not caring." Moreover, students who did cross the boundary rarely gained access to decision-making.

Some Black students of the upper group had adjusted to these norms but were privately bitter about their high school

experience. As one expressed it:

> After three years of this, I am just now learning how to deal with these tricky devils (white students). Even in petty things they will use trickery if need be to get their own way. The whites have taught me how to smile and at the same time be able to stick them in the back as they do me. I'm now able to play their game of smiling on the front and having no-good intentions in the back. I'm not bitter about desegregation, and I do not hate all white people. But it distresses me that they have to treat people like they do. Any time you get a white friend you just cannot trust them.

Student clubs that were sanctioned by the administration were similar to the student government in terms of participation. Where white students controlled, they promoted activities which minimized participation by the economically poorer Blacks. For example, club activities such as overnight trips were too expensive for Blacks and quite often activities were deliberately held at night, sometimes in the homes of the white students which most Blacks lacked the necessary transportation to attend. The Black students perceived these activities as a ploy to keep them out. At the same time, the whites were critical of the Blacks for their lack of willingness to participate in projects or shoulder responsibility.

In sum, the white students from the upper segments continued to control student government and many club activities, and hence, exercised an inordinate amount of influence over most student activities for nearly five years while they were a minority group.

Music Program

The music program was subdivided into band and choral groups, both with separate directors and sets of activities. In contrast to all of the other activities, the band appeared to be a unique case in terms of student relationships. The band organization attracted a particular type of student who set himself apart from other members of his own ethnic group and appeared to be more genuinely interested in those who shared his music experience. Although the members mixed with students outside the program, relationships within the band were friendly and easy and, for the most part, without dissention. There always seemed to be room for one more and the greater number insured continuation of the band program. The joking relationships and communication were different from the other school activities, and competition was minimal. Primary relationships were carried into other areas of interaction. For example, in the lunch room, the only racial mixing of tables on a consistent basis was done by band members. Students in one ethnic group readily accepted members of the other group as leaders without any apparent signs of distrust or apprehension. Moreover, the band parents' association was, until recently, the only viable parent group willing to cross racial lines. As late as 1975, Black and white parents joined together in a fund raising activity to buy band uniforms. It is now defunct.

The choral group in the music program, however, had not achieved the same relationship. It was comprised completely

of Black students and was identified as "a Black activity" by the white students. Prior to desegregation, the Crossover High choral group put on each spring an elaborate musical production rented from New York agencies, complete with elaborate costumes and scenery. This tradition was discontinued in the past three years due to the lack of community support which was essential given that funding for this event depended on the number of tickets sold. Thus, performances became limited to single or group performances by choral members. Community attendance became minimal, usually 300 as compared to the 2,000 tickets that would have been sold prior to desegregation.

Students in the choral program were drawn from all segments of the Black student population; membership was only limited on the basis of vocal talent. However, the largest number of students came from the upper cell of Blacks, and most of these participated in a variety of other student organizations.

School Publications

An additional important status position for the high school was the school paper and the yearbook editorships and assistant editorships. These positions provided high status for students while in school, and supposed greater mobility in the labor market in later life. In particular, participants determined what classmates would receive the most publicity, and thus the greatest validation of their campus popularity. The yearbook staff tended to be the most selective of the white upper group;

specifically, they were the students who came through the accelerated track of the academic program. In the past two years, the editors had been the chief power brokers among all white students. Very few activities took place without their immediate involvement. Only those Black students who met "high" standards were permitted access to the staff. The rest of the Black students saw the yearbook as "a white thing" and chose to ignore it. Thus, the yearbook staff was hard-pressed to sell the requisite number of books to ensure its publication from year to year. A number of activities were held to attempt to raise funds and generally support the yearbook, but very few of these have had much success.

The Black upper group had been able to gain control of the newspaper, but as they carried out the preparation of the prescribed copy and editorial requisites of the administration, the Black staff members became aware that they were channelled into areas of interest only to the upper white group. The under Black and white students, again, chose to ignore this publication. Several indicated they would have liked to see or read about themselves, their own network groups and what was going on about them. Hence, the number of editions has steadily declined each uear until 1976-77, when none were published since sales of the paper were so low that they did not cover the costs of publication. The advisor explained, "No one was interested in working on the paper."

ROTC Activities

The ROTC program included both boys and girls and represented a major focus of involvement for a significant percentage of whites from under-class families. These students tended to be drawn from that segment of the white school population which was the least competitive in the academic tracks. Their outside school orientation was distinctive from that of the over-class. It was not uncommon for them to wear hunting clothes and caps and to refer to themselves as just "good ole boys." Over-class students applied the perjorative reference terms "grits" or "country" to these students. Several admitted they only remained in the program to participate in the rifle matches. The rifle team was made up of all white students. The white students enjoyed the company of the veteran army staff instructors. Both were rough talking, men-of-the-world, with backgrounds similar to the white under-class students. The teacher-student rapport in this situation was perhaps more intense and more satisfying to under-white males than in any of the other high school programs.

For the Black students, ROTC represented an extension of the many credit course options to be taken in lieu of academic solids. As in other courses, the under-class Black males tended to ignore the instructors and paid little attention to the program. Cutting class was frequent, and not wearing the uniform when required was common. There were, of course, exceptions, particularly among those students who saw a career in the military as a viable option to the lack of opportunities in civilian

life. An ROTC graduate could enlist in the army at the rank of Corporal, making it worthwhile for these students to strive for the promotions as cadet officers. But, thus far, no Blacks have been able to achieve the two highest positions of Commander and Executive Officer in the program. This imbalance may have been due to the fact that ROTC was the last place where the under-class white male was still in a competitive position. They competed rigorously for their rank in the program as a way of gaining prestige.

Racial mixing in ROTC carried the greatest potential for violence. Both the under-white and the under-Black segments were socialized in acting out their aggressions. Indeed, in a period of eighteen months, the only fist fights observed between Blacks and whites began with incidents in the ROTC drill sections and continued outside or in the halls later on in the day. In both cases the controversy started with a white cadet officer reprimanding a lower ranking Black cadet for not obeying rules and for "goofing off" in the ranks.

At times the racial interaction was amiable in the ROTC quarters, but the Black students were frequently on the butt-end of joking. It was not uncommon to hear such remarks as, "Stop picking the lint out of your hair and get to work." Outside the quarters, and away from the staff instructors, the Black and white cadets were distant with each other. For example, there was rarely any verbal exchange in the halls and very little in the classrooms. When isolated by race the whites

openly expressed their animosity toward Blacks, occassionally using the term "nigger" and quietly cursing desegregation for having changed "their" school. In sum, the ROTC program was the only remaining formal activity in which under-class white students could assert themselves and compete for status positions with Blacks. The undercurrent of resentment toward Blacks by the whites in this segment was the most pronounced of anywhere in the school. It seems that if the ratio balance were roughly even, the conflict would probably have been even more severe and open.

Conclusion

In summary, court ordered desegregation paired two high school populations but did not erode the racial boundaries in the student subsystem. The whites, largely because they had been attending the school prior to desegregation, had been able to maintain their control over many student activities. As the Blacks have taken over areas such as sports and cheerleading, the status of these was refuted by whites. In areas such as student government, clubs, ROTC and the yearbook, although desegregated, the whites were able to control these organizations and most of the activities sponsored by them. This control, for the most part, came through the rigid maintenance of the boundaries separating Blacks and whites. Students who crossed these boundaries were sanctioned by their own groups. For example, only those Blacks who modified their style of dress,

speech and general deportment were accepted by the whites. On the other hand, this modification was interpreted by other Blacks as a "cop out" (or, "acting white"), and thus those Blacks who were accepted by the whites suffered from exclusion by members of their own ethnic group. Correspondingly, those whites who crossed over the boundary in the opposite direction were denigrated by whites.

Therefore, what we have observed is a rigid boundary maintenance system between the two groups. As one insightful student observed, "Desegregation has only brought Blacks and whites together under one roof, but segregation remains." Had the school been able to hold whites, as Barth (1969) suggested, it might have changed the maintenance model to a generational one in which the Blacks and the whites in the two upper cells could have merged their boundaries to share the system of rewards and resources. But after five years the upper whites have opted to withdraw from the school as they have lost control of the student subsystem.

PART III: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

These chapters focus on the outcomes of desegregation that were witnessed at CHS. The sensitizing concepts that guided the study are addressed as are the outcomes for children and school flight. Finally, these are utilized to formulate general conclusions and a set of recommendations.

OUTCOMES OF DESEGREGATION

The Sensitizing Questions

Throughout this work we have attempted to display the complexities, the multiperspectival realities, that comprise the process of interracial education at Crossover High School. We have shown that while the school process is relatively insulated from the influence of the community, the principal, who is the personification of the school identity, is vulnerable. Further, the school is understood to be a rather powerful agent of stratification as a preselector for the labor market. While the participants understand this in varying ways, the understandings seem to vary directly by the destiny the school seems to promise them, It is the preselection function that invites the controversy over the success and meaning of school desegregation. Our inductive synthesis of the data collected lends some support to the notion that the preselection logic is rather a unidimensional assimilative logic that our initial conceptual framework had anticipated. Given the extensive literature concerning the role of schools and their functioning one need not be surprised that Crossover High School is but a consistant example of American public education. However, it is at this rather abstract level that the consistency is most notable for the processes at CHS have an integrity and a uniqueness all their own, and social theory provides few guidelines to an understanding of this integrity.

With the previous chapters as background, let us examine the process of interracial schooling at Crossover by responding to the sensitizing questions with which we began the study.

1. What are the values, perceptions, and attitudes of the people in the school? This question will be answered for all levels of the school--students, faculty and administration. Particular emphasis will be directed towards the racial attitudes of the various participants and how such beliefs influence the processes of the school and classroom.

As we have noted, there were a number of social networks within the school--each having a relatively consistent set of attitudes. The students had essentially two white networks, the honor students and the blue-collar whites and the two large Black networks, the active Blacks and the lower-class Blacks. The honor students were dismayed with school desegregation primarily because the new school system "standard" policy of ability grouping in a school with a large population of "slow" students threatened the offering of accelerated courses that were necessary, in their minds, for success in college. While they echoed the old guard's concern for standards, they actually did not embrace such a concern for "standards" since standards also threatened their success in accelerated courses, and these students were quick to negotiate "standards" that let them succeed. These negotiations also served the interests of the old guard inasmuch as they were necessary for an adequate enrollment in the courses the old guard preferred to teach. Further, the honor students,

after the change of principals, suffered from what may be called status deprivation. They lost preferred status and the guarantee that white students would receive school honors, control school activities and manage the social life of the student body. Their racial attitudes seemed to be quite situated in the Crossover experience since many honor students indicated, "I've become a racist since attending Crossover."

The blue-collar whites were in large part lost in Crossover curricula. They were generally more skilled than the Black students, but were not as committed to the "vita building" as were the honor students. They supported the honor students' activities and even were recruited to boost enrollments in accelerated classes. Nevertheless, they tended to opt for the "standard" and vocational classes in which they could succeed relatively easily. These were the whites who actually experienced desegregated classrooms and who came to know Black students. They were rather existential in outlook. On the one hand, they were prepared to join the ranks of the working class of parents after high school, while on the other hand, they were relatively assured of admission to the local university, and, given the processes of the University, were relatively confident of completing their college education even if it required some years of joint full-time employment and full-time enrollment in the University. They understood school primarily as a certification process.

These whites were likely to respond that "everything's all right" and were queried concerning CHS, desegregation, and relations with Black students and other Black school participants. Casual conversations with Blacks were most common for this network, and friendships and even limited interracial dating occurred even though it was chagrined within this network and most others.

The active Black student network was small and probably suffered more from conflicting expectations than any other network. They were highly committed to success in the school and regularly attempted accelerated courses when allowed. However, pressure for high grades often meant enrollment in less rigorous courses. While the honor students were the white student leaders, the active Blacks were not the leaders of Black students. As long as the honor students controlled student life, the active Blacks received honors for what may be conceived of as the attempts to be assimilated. The lower-class Blacks clearly saw this to be the case, when they chided the active Blacks for "acting white," and pressured these students to maintain at least one foot in the lower-class network.

The active Blacks were highly committed to success in school, and saw the more general notion of success to be bound up in gaining some access to the white networks. They were the more likely of the two major Black networks to indicate "good" relations with white school participants, although it could be argued that it was in their interest to develop or at least attest to such relations.

The lower-class Blacks, as we have mentioned before, were in the school but not of it. They had well developed street repertories, and their network more readily included non-school participants. They witnessed a Black school in the classrooms, but saw the school as white, even though over seventy percent of the student body was Black by the end of our study. They were not for assimilation, except when emulating such behavior had precise and predictable rewards--usually avoidance of disciplinary action. Many, however, were concerned about obtaining the certificate of a high school diploma and would make strides in that direction when such efforts did not entail refuting their ethnic identities. They resisted efforts to make them "understand" the "correct" white dialect of English. Yet they would draw maps in geography and actively engaged in discussions prompted by the D.E. teacher. They were not as much anti-white as anti-assimilation. When faced with the decision of negating the efficacy of their Black experience and succeeding in a class or revering their Black identity and not succeeding, ethnicity was likely to win. Whites and school desegregation were fine as long as assimilation was not the goal. They were adamantly for a form of cultural pluralism.

The teacher networks were also few in number: the old guard, the new teachers, the motleys, and the coaches. The old guard were the protectors of the old Crossover, its high academic standards, and the status that all of it allowed them. School desegregation first threatened their status. Ability

grouping was initially embraced as a mechanism to maintain that status, but declining white honor student enrollments negated even that. In some ways, they regarded Blacks as having an illegitimate claim to the student status. The old guard could not understand the resistance to assimilation, since no one had ever previously questioned the viability of being fully assimilated into the middle and upper classes. Their disdain for the poorly equipped Black students is probably best understood as a clash of cultures in which the authority of one was being challenged by the power of another. Their role had always been to serve the capable and the not capable had always been left to fend for themselves. Rather than lose their status, they have been transferring, retiring, and seeking positions outside the classroom. Nevertheless, they were the best equipped of all the networks to provide the skills and attitudes necessary for access to the upper classes.

The new teachers came over from Feeder school at the onset of court mandated desegregation. As was characteristic of their role in the Black community, their efforts were not solely academic. They saw their role in a seemingly strange way. In the revisionist sense, they performed as missionaries who not only must educate but also enculcate morals in the seeming immoral natives. They also were concerned with assimilation, since they believed the only way to be successful in this society required an emulation, at least, of white man's ways. These teachers had

made it in this way, and given the white controlled economy they regarded it as the only way out of the ghetto.

The new Black teachers, by and large, had strained relations with the old guard teachers and white students of the school. The old guard would not socialize with these faculty, and these groups even sat at separate tables during lunch and faculty meetings. The old guard treated them as charlatans for their "lack of standards." The white students displayed little respect. Their place in the school seemingly assured, they readily slept in class, flaunted rules, and openly criticized these teachers. The active Blacks were supportive and were "model" students. The lower-class Blacks saw them as a dual edged sword--they promised a diploma and threatened to withhold it on both educational and moral grounds--and responded either with some commitment or some disdain, respectively.

The motleys are not a network as such. They rather are the teachers who have joined CHS's faculty in the years since the initial desegregation and have not found either faculty network readily available. They are isolated, concerned, and generally in favor of school desegregation. However, they do not have ideal working conditions given their isolation and have little impact upon the life of the school. They are accepting of, and acceptable to, both races and probably all the social networks.

The coaches are regarded as almost comic characters in the classroom by students and the other teachers alike. The honor

students and the blue-collar whites point to their teaching as evidence of the eroded quality of education. The active Blacks are careful to criticize no one, while the lower-class Blacks appreciate the opportunity to "hang out" within the school. The coaches also do not see their role to be teachers, but as the developers of the athletic program. With the major team sports of football and basketball being almost exclusively Black, the coaches behave as if race is not salient to team selections and white students have withdrawn from participation in these sports because of what they perceive to be racial favoritism.

One last teacher group is the two ROTC instructors. ROTC is probably the most desegregated class and activity in the school. the ROTC instructors cajole their students and demand seemingly obedience from both whites and Blacks. They are well regarded by their students, and lack the respect of both the other faculty and the administration.

The two administrations, as noted earlier, had quite different approaches. The first principal, his white assistant principal, Black administrative assistant, and two guidance counselors (one white, one Black) tried to "save" students, academically and socially as well as numerically. The first principal gave control of the student subsystem to the honor students, and attempted to accomodate the old guard as best he could. Thus whites were in a preferable status over Blacks, even though he relied upon his Black faculty to "save" children. The second principal, the same assistant principal and different

Black administrative assistant and guidance counselors imposed "universalistic" criteria on the school. Black students won control of student life, and those whites, students and faculty, who could leave, left the school rather than assume a lower status than that to which they were accustomed. However, the second principal more embraced the assimilative logic than the first, and was more likely to oust Black students from the school who did not "shape up."

In summary, racial attitudes seemed quite situated in the realities of the situation as each network or group saw it. Two schools, one white and one Black, existed within CHS and each displayed a classic disdain for the out groups. But perhaps this is better understood as a conflict over goals, power and authority.

2. What is the internal order and logic of the school? What is the hierarchy of power? Who are the pace setters, the cultural maximizers, the arbitors of value judgements, those who define the situation for others? What are the various roles in the school and do such roles relate to the integration issue? What are the sources of status within the school and how is status distributed? What are the assumptions about the desegregation situation held by "newcomers" and "old hands?" What attempts are made to either strengthen or subvert the desegregation situation by teachers, administrators, or students?

As we have noted, the hierarchy of power within the school varied according to the principal. Under the negotiated order principal, the elite white students and teachers were quite powerful, while under the bureaucaatic order principal, no one network was demonstratably more powerful than others. Further, the change to the bureaucratic principal severly reduced the impact of the old guard and the honor students on school processes. No longer were these whites able to chagrin others for their lack of standards, knowledge, or influence, for they no longer were the cultural maximizers even though the bureaucratic principal seemed to embrace a strong concern for standards. Yet this loss of power also has meant that the elite white networks of students and teachers have abandoned the school, since control over social activities was also lost. In general, all the networks find at least some fault with desegregation, albeit the "newcomer" motley teachers seem to have more faith in it than the old guard.

Further, it seems that desegregation is a goal that few can actually champion. The negotiable principal certainly made every attempt, and the faculty he had brought with him from Feeder School more-or-less passively supported him. Their goals were similar but even they saw quality education and desegregation as conflicting. The elite whites were less gentle. Quality education was what they were about, and desegregation was seen by them as a direct refutation of quality, and withstood attempts to synthesize the two. Their support networks in the community

made this resistance effective until these networks had been mobilized to change the situation at the school. The bureaucratic principal seemingly had a mandate from this controversy which negated the power and resistance of the elite whites.

3. Do outside forces (parents, school board members, community leaders, etc.) attempt to make their influence felt vis-a-vis the desegregation process? Under what circumstances are they successful? More specifically, what arenas are defined by the school to be negotiable, especially in regards to the intervention of parents?

As we have seen, CHS was well insulated against the efforts of parents and other outside forces. Under the negotiable principal, parents had been invited into the school to assist guidance counselors and to do some tutoring, but by the start of the study the parents were no longer participating in this fashion. One parent reported that the teachers and guidance counselors were not as receptive as she had felt necessary. The P.T.A. and parents Advisory Committee were largely inactive and primarily used to "cool out" parents with complaints.

Even with their network access to the negotiable principal, Black parents would rarely intervene in the school, and then usually to reinforce the school's doctrines and discipline. The elite white parents were always lurking in the shadows, but generally would not use their influence due to deference to the power of their children in the school. When called upon, as we have seen, however, their influence was dramatic and resulted in

the change in leadership of CHS. Under the bureaucratic principal they have seemingly retired--citing his competence while their children seek their schooling experience elsewhere.

Given this situation, it is difficult to assess the arenas which are defined by the school as negotiable, especially in regards to the intervention of parents. Some arenas are evident, however. Discipline is negotiable, albeit more negotiable under the first principal than the second. Nevertheless, a parent who will come to the school to discuss a disciplinary incident may well affect the outcome of the incident. Further, it was reported to us that a parent calling upon a teacher concerning a student's grades is almost certain to result in higher grades for the student. It was argued that the teachers respond better to children with concerned parents.

Curriculum and instruction, on the other hand, are not negotiable. School system policies allow little flexibility for the individual school. Further, a principal must back the staff, if their support is to be forthcoming in meeting the school system policy requisites. Therefore, quality of education was not a negotiable issue at CHS.

4. What are the relations among the various components of the school (teaching staff, administrators, parents, students, etc.) and how do such interrelations tend to confirm or come into conflict with one another with respect to issues of race and school desegregation?

The preceeding discussion has highlighted the intra-component relations. Much conflict, or at the very least little cooperation, characterized these relations. Generally, the lines between component participants were also drawn along race and class lines so that those of similar race or class identities were more cooperative than those with dissimilar identities. Desegregation and racial issues were almost unilaterally conflictual between either administration (albeit considerably less with the bureaucratic principal, since they prompted his assignment) and the old guard teachers, white elite parents, and honor students because quality of education was at issue. On these issues, the negotiable principal was often in line with the active Blacks, active Black parents, and the Black teaching staff. The bureaucratic principal comparatively was in some conflict with these Black groups, albeit little formal protest developed since the identity of the school was becoming more directly Black, and desegregation was less an issue under his reign. The lower-class Black students are more content with this trend, but are still not really "of" the school. School is simply a battle for them.

5. Which groups tend to be satisfied with the school and which ones tend to be dissatisfied? What appear to be the primary sources of such satisfaction or dissatisfaction? What are the routines that perpetuate such satisfaction and dissatisfaction?

Satisfaction was hard to detect. For many networks, fatalism better characterized their feelings. In large part, satisfaction was derived from the rewards that were reaped from the school. Generally, the teachers were more satisfied under the negotiable principal since rewards and influence could be bartered for. The white students were also more satisfied with this arrangement. Both were dissatisfied somewhat under the bureaucratic principal. However, the Black students and white parents were generally dissatisfied. The white parents felt discipline and quality education was lacking, even though some improvements were made under the bureaucratic principal. The Black students felt isolated and ignored, since few rewards came their way. Black parents deferred to the school the decision of appropriate action, and thus could be seen as satisfied but probably were simply more fatalistic than the other groups.

The routines that perpetuated these feelings had mostly to do with power and reward systems. When in control of activities and rewards and supported by the principal, groups were more satisfied. The least satisfied were those without power and social rewards.

6. How could the learning environment be characterized? Do students vary in their attitudes toward and participation in the intellectual life of the school? Is there evidence of differential participation in School curriculum by race or ethnicity? Does the school use tracking? What appear

to be the consequences for the school, if it is used?

Crossover High School was two schools for the purposes of learning, one essectially white and one essentially Black. The white students were taught analytic skills, while the Blacks had material explained to them. In part this was because whites were selected for accelerated courses more often than Blacks, and further, the desire for high grades often led the active Blacks to choose standard courses even when they qualified for the accelerated classes. Further, it seems that the white students saw education somewhat differently than the Blacks. The Blacks tended to see it as a certification process that would assist in gaining access to the world of work. While the whites were concerned with this understanding, they were also more concerned with the status and power that could be derived from good scholarship.[1]

7. How does the school interface with the local labor market? Are there preselection mechanisms that shape differential access to the labor market and higher education? Is the interface and/or mechanisms related to the processes of interracial schooling?

The initial conceptual framework for this study was concerned with educational stratification and the assimilative logic employed to produce that stratification. If anything,

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1. See the discussion of the last sensitizing question for more elaboration.

this study has strengthened these concerns, even as it revealed the limitations and oversimplicity of our initial framework. Aside from the within school issues, white school system personnel on various occasions noted the implications of desegregation and white flight. In their minds, these processes conjoined so that Blacks would soon control a major portion of the local market and the school system. Further, they saw that these processes fit a pattern which would transform Memphis "into another Atlanta," where Blacks, they argued, would control the city and the whites somehow would suffer. The significance of all this is even further heightened by their understanding that the teaching profession is a mobility mechanism through which the working class becomes middle class. In short, school desegregation with white flight means to white school personnel that Blacks will gain in power and economic influence while the working class white population will be frozen economically and occupationally in the secondary labor market.

Within the school, the tracking system tends to serve to reinforce the class positions of the students, and to document this status to the world. The lower ability groupings have the explicit goal of providing the minimal skills necessary to enter the secondary labor force, and the higher ability groups of preparing students for college. Remember the case of the active Black female who was in the accelerated curriculum until she became pregnant. Her return to school after the child's birth witnessed her relegation to classes that would somehow prepare

her to support her child. It should also be noted that the "levels of instruction" seemingly are designed to promote permanent stratification curriculum.[2] The levels of instruction in their design guarantee that students in basic and standard course levels are not to receive a comparable educational experience to those in the enriched or advanced placement levels. The more "outstanding" students are to have their originality and creativity fostered, while the basic student is not. It would seem difficult for even highly achieving basic students to be successful in the accelerated curricula.

Simply put the lower levels of instruction leave little payoff except the possibility of a high school diploma, some vocational skills, and possibly a second run at college through enrollment, and hopefully success, in a community college. These students are being prepared for the secondary labor market. The accelerated students are being prepared for college and the primary labor force.

In summary, the study of the processes of interracial education at Crossover High School has shown that its desegregation did not result in integration as we initially defined it. In fact, desegregation, and the response of CHS and the school system, resulted initially in two schools under one roof. The Black students and teachers lost in influence and commitment while the whites maintained theirs. Yet school system policy

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2. For the descriptions of "levels of instruction," please refer to pp. 107-8 of this report.

on minimum enrollments for course offerings, especially for accelerated courses, jeopardized the status and status futures of the honor students. Further, the change of principals led to a new style of order which denied the whites the power, influence and rewards they had enjoyed. The whites left CHS as a result.

Outcomes for Children

Nancy St. John, after a review of the quantitative analyses of the outcomes for desegregation for children, concluded:

> ...far more illuminating would be small-scale studies involving anthropological observations of the process of interracial schooling, across settings diverse in Black/white ratios and in middle-class/lower-class ratios, and also diverse in their educational philosophies and techniques (St. John 1975:122-3).

This study was in part a result of that concern and seemingly requires a response to her conclusions concerning outcomes for children in three areas: academic achievement, self-confidence and racial prejudice. Also, a fourth area concerning career consequences will be explored. However, it should be noted that her conclusions require a comparative understanding derived from many ethnographic studies, and therefore it is not possible to respond to her conclusions directly. Yet let us briefly apply the data on CHS to her concerns.

In the area of academic achievement, St. John argued that adequate data have not been gathered to determine if there is a causal relationship between the racial composition of a school and the academic achievement of the students. Our study

suggests that this goal of adequate data would be difficult to achieve since few, if any, of the traditional indicators of academic achievement can account for the dynamic character of instruction and learning in schools. The types of academic skills taught varied by level of instruction and by the students' response to the competing pressures for knowledge and for grades. Thus desegregation had little effect upon the climate of learning for the white students, and particularly the honor students at CHS, while permitting the exposure of but a few highly committed Black students to the rigor of the accelerated curriculum. The other Black students were warehoused in courses not designed to dramatically upgrade their skills. With these patterns only minimal gains in the academic achievement of Blacks could be expected, while the whites probably could be unaffected.

St John reviewed three commonly studied psychological outcomes of desegregation that fall under the general rubric of self-confidence: anxiety, self-concept, and aspirations. She concludes that anxiety, while higher for Black children than white, is not heightened for Black children when placed in a desegregated setting. Our data suggest that anxiety levels were heightened for the active Blacks who were highly committed to academic success. They were in jeopardy because of the competition with the white honor students and because of the ethnicity requirements of other Blacks who were less committed to the school. The lower-class Blacks probably had little change in their anxiety levels since desegregation had only meant that

they are on the bottom of a more heterogeneous heap, and since school had already effectively eliminated their commitment. Whites at CHS probably had less anxiety after desegregation under the negotiable principal since their position was secure, and the competition of Blacks rarely threatened except in athletics. Under the bureaucratic principal, anxiety increased somewhat because power was lost, but the whites quickly neutralized that anxiety by leaving the school.

St. John argued that desegregation in the long run is related to higher self-esteem, even though little evidence had been found to support the notion that the self-esteem of Blacks resulted from school desegregation. In part, the argument for an increase in Black self-esteem was based in the notion that the controversy over desegregation may have raised self-esteem because of the high morale of the Black community that engages in such controversy. While we do not know if the latter is true, since the CHS Black community was relatively passive, we could find little evidence of any gains in self-esteem. If anything, the pairing of Feeder and Crossover detracted from the morale of the Black Feeder community, and from the students who were reassigned to a school in which they would receive few rewards.

As to the last dimension of self-confidence which St. John discussed, aspirations had been found to be higher in segregated schools for Blacks than for whites, even though Blacks and whites tended to have similar levels in general. Our data suggests

that this probably is true. Black students coming into the newly desegregated CHS faced levels of instruction which generally relegated them to the lower tiers of the academic hierarchy, and their aspirations suffered. The resiliency of the Black students should not be underestimated, however. For a number of students who were "cooled out" of the accelerated classes enrolled in "easy" courses to enable high grades, graduation, and a second run at a Baccalaureate degree via the local community college and later enrollment in a four-year institution.

St. John also reviewed the research findings concerning racial prejudice. She concluded:

> This review of research on racial attitudes and behavior in schools indicates that desegregation sometimes reduces prejudice and promotes interracial friendship and sometimes promotes, instead, stereotyping and interracial cleavage and conflict. An outcome so variable must be affected by circumstances other than the mere fact of desegregation (St. John 1975:85).

Our findings concur with the sentiment of this conclusion; the circumstances under which desegregation takes place seem to affect the outcomes of racial attitudes. The desegregation of Crossover High School, the resegregation within the school, and the power arrangements negotiated all conjoined to affect racial attitudes. The honor students became more racist, while the active Blacks noted some positive interactions with the whites, but these were well situated since whites were seen to be duplicitous. The lower-class Blacks evidenced no improvement in their attitudes towards whites. The blue-collar whites

seemed to develop slightly more positive attitudes towards Blacks. Nevertheless, however, only the active Blacks actually favored school desegregation. All other groups were negative or noncommital.

The last outcome for children with which we were concerned was career consequences. As our literature reviews noted (Collins and Noblit 1976), little research had addressed this issue. Further, it was difficult to assess over the short period of time over which the study was conducted the differential access of Black and white students to higher education and the labor market. Nevertheless, it does seem that desegregation served to reduce the class rank of the Black students, and could well have reduced the number of Blacks who participated in the accelerated curricula. Thus Black students seemingly suffered on these criteria often used in admission to prestigeous colleges. Further, the vocational programs often sought "good, but not scholarly" Black students to enable their programs to be successful. Thus college potential of Blacks was thwarted to enable vocational programs' successes and the development of the reputation necessary to maintain placement levels.

School Flight and School Policy

The last issue which needs discussion concerns white flight due to desegregation.

Since the release of Coleman's "white flight" report (1975), there has been a flurry of analyses and critiques of the effects

of school desegregation upon segregation in residential patterns (cf. Pettigrew and Green 1976a, 1976b; Coleman 1976; Farley 1976) and upon resegregation of the schools (cf. Rossell 1975). The debate is often wide ranging, polemical, and personal. Further, it does not appear that much is being resolved by the ongoing discourse between Coleman and the other major parties.

On the other hand, the debate has led to some speculation on what kind of research is needed to effectively inform policy and policy makers. Rossell (1975) suggests that case studies may assist in this process. She notes:

> Close study of the best and worst cases, and of the intricacies of the patterns observed, might well suggest procedures and policies that can help avoid any initial loss of enrollment, and perhaps stop the loss of whites altogether from central cities (Rossell 1975:690).

It should also be noted that the quantitative studies upon which the above debate is based are not able to more than speculate an interpretive understanding of the pnenomena (Turner and Carr 1976) while field studies more enable interpretive understanding although they are not always able to provide the probabilistic assessments of white flight patterns. This investigation, hopefully, will suggest an interpretive understanding that will significantly contribute to the ongoing discourse.

It should be emphasized that a study of the Memphis City Schools is important to the debate that has already ensued. Pettigrew and Green (1976b) have argued that the inclusion of Memphis and Atlanta in Coleman's sample distorted his findings.

If this is true, then a documentation of the Memphis situation may allow comparable studies of other cities so that the intent of Rossell's suggestion may be fulfilled and the meaning of the Coleman-Pettigrew and Green debate on this issue is more apparent. Further, as noted above, it may serve to specify somewhat the significance of what Pettigrew and Green (1976a, 1976b) call Coleman's "ecological fallacy" in his assertions of individual motivation in white flight.

To achieve these goals, the paper is divided into two major sections--one that reveiws a quantitative study conducted by Stephens and one that presents the qualitative data from CHS. The conclusions will place these data within the context of the "white flight" debate.

The Stephens Report

In March of 1976, O.Z. Stephens, Director of the Division of Research and Planning for the Memphis City School System, prepared a report titled: Induced Desegregation: Its Effects on White Pupil Population and Resegregation in the Memphis City School System that examined the relationship between court-ordered desegregation and the loss of white enrollment in the Memphis City Schools. Since the political nature of official reports is always in question, Stephens noted that:

> ...It is a report of original research done by the writer without input from any other member of the Division of Research and Planning or any other division or department of the Memphis City School System. The report was voluntarily done by the writer and not

> at the request or insistence of any staff member or Board of Education member (Stephens 1976:6) (emphasis in the original).

The report utilized official enrollment figures and examined in some detail enrollment patterns from the 1970-1 school year through the 1975-6 school year. The report does not allow a rigorous before and after desegregation assessment of the effects of forced desegregation and the flight of white students from the schools since annexation figures are not excluded from the data for the 1960's and are for the 1970's. Further, it does not control for population shifts in the Memphis student population. Thus, an accurate assessment of the magnitude of the school flight phenomenon is not possible. However, the exact magnitude is not the issue of this paper, as noted above. Coleman (1976) and Pettigrew and Green (1976b) all agree that white flight from Memphis had occurred.[3] These data are to be utilized to demonstrate that whites have left the public schools, and they also indicate some notion of the general extent of the problem.

Apparently, as a result of the "white flight" controversy generated as a result of the Coleman study, Stephens decided to investigate the impact of the desegregation court order upon the loss in white enrollments in the Memphis City School System. To do this, Stephens needed to compare the enrollment patterns

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3. Christine Rossell reports that in a study which she is currently conducting Memphis had the largest white flight of the 113 city sample she is using.

prior to desegregation with those after desegregation. Pertaining to the former period, he wrote:

> ...the school system had maintained a marked degree of stability relative to racial composition from the 1963-64 school year (50.6% white and 49.4% Black) through and including the 1970-71 school year (48.4% white and 51.6% Black). Obviously, there was some minor fluctuation of racial percentages; but, because of annexation action, stability was achieved as late as the 1970-71 school year (pp.11-12).

Inasmuch as enrollment figures of the schools annexed prior to 1971 were not available, Stephens could not compute an overall projection of "normal" white attrition from the School System. However, for the period from the 1965-66 school year through the 1968-69 school year, the School System did not annex any new schools. For this period, he computed a trend of loss in white enrollment which showed a percentage loss of 1.0% between 1965-66 and 1966-67, 1.3% between 1966-67 and 1967-68, and 1.9% between 1967-68 and 1968-69. Coleman (1976) notes that 1968 and 1969 may have had overall below-average losses in white enrollment. Thus, there may be some problems with these percentages. However, no other means seems to have been available to make a comparable assessment.

While there is considerable doubt that only three percentage differences are reliable indicators upon which to base a trend, Stephens went ahead and developed a projection for the years from 1970-71 through 1975-76. The projection was based upon the increase in percentage loss between the first two percentages (1.0 and 1.3 percent, respectively) and the second and last

percentages (1.3 and 1.9 percent, respectively) and as a result, the projections show a doubling of the increase in percentage between each two years for the 1970-71 through 1975-76 period. This projection thus yielded that for the school years 1974-75 and 1975-76 the percentage losses in white enrollment due to normal attrition would be 3.1 and 5.5 percent, respectively. Regarding these figures Stephens argued:

> The percentage loss as projected for 1974-75 (3.1%) and 1975-76 (5.5%) are at the outside limits quite liberal. It is this writer's opinion that the percent decline would probably have leveled off at no more than the 3.1% level indicated for the 1974-75 school year (p.18) (emphasis in the original).

Using the more "liberal" 5.5 per-ent loss figure, Stephens then concluded that the 1975-76 white enrollment would approximately be 61,277, excluding any students gained by annexation. The actual 1975-76 white enrollment, excluding annexation enrollments, was 25,443. Thus, Stephens concluded that 35,834 students had been lost from the School System due to court-ordered desegregation. If the 3.1 percent loss projection were used, a total of 44,366 students have been lost due to desegregaion.[4]

In short, there does seem to be something about the court-ordered desegregation that has led many white students to no longer attend public schools in Memphis. There are some data

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4. Christine Rossell, in personal correspondence, noted she has estimated the loss due to desegregation, excluding the 1975 annexations, as 32,557. This represents the difference between her projected enrollment of 58,000 in Fall '75 and an actual enrollment minus annexation of 25,443. Regardless of whose estimations are used the loss is still quite massive.

from an ongoing qualitative field study that suggest what those factors may be.

Some Ethnographic Data

It is obvious that many whites have left the public schools in Memphis after desegregation was ordered. However, we are not able to address whether or not that was due to desegregation itself or to the changes which followed in the public schools and in the Memphis community. For example, the effect of the Mayor exhorting whites to boycott the public schools is not assessable; however, there are two arenas of change constituting both "push" and "pull" factors that need to be and can be explored in greater depth.

Obviously, given compulsory attendance laws and the general belief, both by employers and other citizens in our society, that formal education (or the certification it provides) is necessary to enter the primary labor market that will provide stable, permanent employment, those who withdrew from the public schools had to have schools available for their children to attend. County schools were somewhat of a "pull" factor, although they were also engaged in the "throes" of desegregation and had initiated efforts as early as 1967. It is true that two major suburbs of the community had predominantly white student populations. However, the predominantly middle-class suburb at the time seemed destined to be annexed by the City School System, even though the annexation of these schools was, in the end, to

be excluded from Judge McRae's desegregation orders. The other suburb was, and is, inhabited by predominantly upper-class residents. Thus, only the very wealthy were able to take advantage of its predominantly white schools. In short, the pull of the county schools was not strong for the whites fleeing from desegregation.[5] If they moved to the county school system, their children would still attend schools with Blacks, albeit a smaller proportion. Parents who, in fact, made this move told us that the basis of their decision was primarily the "quality" of education their children could receive. "Quality" and proportion white were thus seen as correlates.

Of course, it must also be emphasized that movement to the county was fostered by many factors besides school desegregation within the city. Probably the major factor has been the availability of comparatively inexpensive land for home building and development. Just beyond the Eastern rim of the city lie numerous apartment complexes that have absorbed a great number of young couples and families who could not afford to own a home. Many have left the apartment complexes and neighborhoods within the city because of the movement of minorities out of the ghetto

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5. By adding the 6,207 white students Stephens reported to be enrolled in city-annexed Raleigh schools in 1975-76 to the total white student population reported by the Shelby County Schools for that year, the corrected white enrollment for Shelby County Schools for that year would be 21,335. The total white enrollment for the County Schools for 1970-71 was reported to be 15,181. Thus the gain in white enrollment in the County due to desegregation would seem to be 6,154.

and residentially segregated housing. Further, those who have built homes in the county pay less taxes and even less licensing fees for such things as automobiles. White mobility into the county thus would seem to have depended upon many "pull" factors.

The second "pull" factor seems a particularly regional response to school desegregation--the establishment of white "academies," beginning in roughly 1972. Whites hastily organized private schools, some in temporary buildings or church basements. As Takayama and Sachs (1976) demonstrate, local churches were instrumental in this process. They have shown that congregational churches (those controlled by local congregations) were more likely to start private "C.A.B. (Citizens Against Busing) Schools" than were denominational churches who were controlled by a national or international administration. In fact, the denominations were a major source of resistance to the development of C.A.B. schools. It was reported that this resistence was so extensive that some parochial schools which had been established well prior to desegregation even refused admission to those students who appeared to be fleeing the desegregation effort.

Many of the C.A.B. schools eventually were closed, primarily for economic reasons. However, it was reported by the City School Administration that the private schools of Memphis sport the third largest enrollment in the state of Tennessee. Only the Memphis and Nashville city school systems have larger enrollments. In fact, in the fall of 1973, seventeen new private schools announced their openings and 15 were associated

with the protestant churches which are largely congregationally controlled. In September, 1971, there were 14,738 students enrolled in private schools. In November, 1973, this figure had grown to 33,012 (Takayama and Sachs 1976). Stephens (1976) reports that private school enrollments for 1975-76 are 35,449 with less than 1,000 of these students being Black. Interestingly enough, this corresponds closely with Stephens' lower estimate of total white students lost from the Memphis City School system due to desegregation, even though the actual gain over the years in question was 20,711, considerably less than the Stephens' estimate.

While the "pull" factor for fleeing public schools in Memphis seems primarily to be the development by whites themselves of private academies, the "push" factor seems to be found within the changes that resulted within the schools after desegregation. While it is difficult to isolate these changes, there do seem to be two major issues that were operative in the school we studied. One issue often recited by informants was the "quality of education" issue. The second was the "control" issue.

The quality issue was often noted by our informants as a reason for leaving, or considering the possibility of leaving, the Memphis City Schools. As might be guessed, this issue was difficult to grapple with, both on the part of the white families and the school administration. There simply was not a single satisfactory definition of what constitutes quality education. As one white parent quixotically put it: "I don't know what it

is, but I know it when I see it;" and it was assumed by many whites that they were not getting quality education in desegregated schools--or at least they did not see it.

While we wish to remain somewhat tentative in regards to the following analysis, it appears that the "quality" issue, when informants were pressed, was conceived primarily in terms of two problems: a lack of discipline and a lack of flexibility in curriculum and course offerings.

It was argued by white parents that there was a lack of discipline in desegregated schools, and in the school we have studied in depth. They argued that students were not effectively controlled, both within the classroom and in the halls and co-curricular activities. It was argued that teachers are no longer in control and students do as they please. Teachers seemed to have promulgated this view in response to the due process procedures that came into existence almost simultaneously with desegregation. Some white parents even argued that it was the white students that were not being effectively disciplined inasmuch as the school system was trying to avoid any further white attrition--either by drop-outs, pull-outs, or expulsions. Other parents countered this line of argument by conveying that Blacks are not being sufficiently disciplined because teachers and administrators are afraid of charges of racial discrimination. The second problem, however, will elucidate the lack of discipline argument.

White informants have repeatedly argued that a major "quality" problem is a lack of curriculum flexibility. Particularly, this is in reference to "advance" or "accelerated" courses that serve primarily white students. Memphis City Schools has had an informal policy on ability grouping since 1961, but it appears to have received new impetus following desegregation. A memo from the Director of the Division of Secondary Education, dated June 8, 1973, began:

> It is imperative that we have more uniformity in our academic programs as we enter our desegregation program in the fall of 1973. Many procedures which have been optional must now become standard policy for all schools.

The memorandum then discusses levels of instruction and the computation of class rank that varied according to the "level" of the course in which a grade was received. In short, desegregation and a lack of curriculum flexibility seem to have gone hand-in-hand. The School System rigidified its curricular program in response to the desegregation of schools. This conclusion is further substantiated by reports of former Memphis City School System white students who maintained that while they were aware that "advanced" courses were available prior to desegregation in the white schools, there were few, if any, "basic" courses for the "slow" students. Former students of the Black schools maintained "levels of instruction" were always prevalent within those schools. The academic inferiority of Blacks seems to have been assumed both before and after desegregation.

In 1976-77, the Board of the Memphis City School System was embroiled in an ability grouping controversy. Some of the white Board members wished to embrace ability grouping as a formal policy, while the Black Board members saw the move as further promoting racial segregation within the schools. Even the Tennessee Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union undertook a study of ability grouping in the Memphis City Schools. It supported the contentions of the Black Board Members.

The issue in the Memphis Schools is whether or not ability grouping promotes resegregation; but the problem, as the white parents and students viewed it, was a lack of segregation--but by ability. They argued that with a majority Black student population in a school, advanced course level offerings were hindered since it is difficult to justify the offering of a course for a small number of students, who incidentally are white. The whites were vexed. They wanted more segregation by ability within the schools, which would also be racially segregative in Memphis public schools.

We noted earlier that the lack of discipline and curriculum flexibility were intertwined as one considers the "quality" issue. Our interviews revealed that when whites compared schools, as to their "quality," these issues were not distinct. That is, they saw a school that provides a high quality education as being one that was highly disciplined and that this was obtained by stratifying the student population by levels of instruction. Quality education for them was one that does not respect

diversity of styles within the classroom, although it may have allowed that diversity within the school.

Cultural diversity was threatening to the whites in Memphis when it resulted in the School System reducing the flexibility of offerings of high ability courses which, in turn, reduced the racial segregation within a school.

The second "push" factor was the "control" issue. Primarily, this concerns who controlled the organization of students in a school. St. John (1975) has noted that one major threat of school desegregation for Black females is that their self-esteem may be threatened by competing with white females in a contest that uses white criteria for evaluation of attractiveness. Within the Memphis City Schools, it appeared that for whites this competition was salient regardless of sex. While we have no quantitative measures of the effect upon self-esteem, our informants have impressed upon us the meaningfulness of the social status structures which students control. The white students who have left or wish to leave the public school, whom we have interviewed repeatedly, expressed a desire to compete for the honors of "most attractive," "most likely to succeed," "best athlete," homecoming queen, president of the student council, class president, etc. They argued, and our observations concurred, that in a majority Black school, whites will rarely be elected to such honors, if the honor is to be bestowed via a general election by the entire student body. The "control" issue seemed less salient in schools where whites and Blacks

each conducted their own elections, or where by mandate an honor was to be given to a white and a Black in each category.

We have attempted to present a case study of the school flight phenomenon that has been witnessed in the Memphis City School System. To summarize, it appears that for Memphis school flight has involved "pull" and "push" factors. The "pull" factors seem to be the limited availability of a county school system and the development of private academies by the disgruntled whites themselves and the churches which they control. The "push" factors include the issues of educational quality (which involved discipline and curriculum flexibility considerations) and control over the student status systems. The "push" factors seem to be products of the current organization of the Memphis City School system and thus should be amenable to change via school system policy and practice. The "pull" factors do not seem to be as amenable to change via educational policy. Metropolitan desegregation would only affect one of the "pull" factors, and, given the commitment of some segments of the Memphis white community to avoid a forced interracial educational experience for their children may only promote the further development of private academies that are not subject to significant public policy intervention.

We have argued that case studies such as this one may have implications for the more large scale "impact" evaluations of the effects of school desegregation on white flight. We feel that this case study suggests some such implications. Obviously,

this first implication is that the white flight-school desegregation relationship is much more complex than any of the Coleman (1975, 1976), Rossell (1975), Pettigrew and Green (1976a, 1976b) and Farley (1976) analyses have yet to operationalize. Our analysis and Rossell's analysis suggest that it may be best to treat the relationship as a two-step process. It is necessary to ascertain if people leave the school as a result of desegregation; and then it is necessary to assess if they leave the city as a result. Even though Pettigrew and Green (1976b) argue that the inclusion of Memphis in Coleman's sample was one of the reasons for the white flight conclusion, it appears that, for Memphis, Coleman only captured part of school desegregation flight phenomenon, while possibly overestimating the effect of desegregation on residential mobility out of the city. White flight from the city would seem to be attributable to many more factors than school desegregation, while school flight can be more directly attributed to forced desegregation, the school system's response to it, and racial attitudes of whites. Secondly, massive studies need more than knowledge of the two-step process; and they need to take into account the variety of desegregation plans that courts have ordered implemented. Also, the school system's implementation plans and the progress in fulfilling them need to be accounted for in order to assess what desegregation actually meant in a particular city. Further, data need to be gathered on the existing educational policy practices and programs, and the changes that occurred in them

seemingly outside of the desegregation order for each school system. For example, a school system may seem to have massive desegregation as a result of the transfer of students, but the students may be highly segregated within the school.

Finally, it seems evident that many more case studies like this need to address this issue. While massive quantitative investigations may show a relationship and suggest a causal process, it seems that case studies that utilize a variety of research methods are better able to document the process and judge its plausibility for the city in question. Obviously, we are proposing that ethnographic or field studies are more than hypothesis-generating as many social scientists argue. They are also the final check on quantitatively derived "facts" and imputations. We hope the research and discussion on the effects of school desegregation can assimilate these suggestions and data they are here based upon. At the very least, we hope for a pluralistic model of research strategies that can demonstrate to the citizens that researchers too can respect diversity, even if we disagree.

CONCLUSIONS

Continued School Flight

It is evident from the preceeding chapters that resegregation began immediately after court-ordered school desegregation was carried out at Crossover High and in the MCSS in general. The withdrawal of over 35,000 white students to private schools in the first few months of the 1972-73 academic year attests to the near panic atmosphere which gripped the city. As the private schools increased their facilities and achieved an image of permanence and stability, the status of MCSS was systematically lowered by the white population supporting these private schools. For instance, middle-class parents who chose to keep their children enrolled in the MCSS suffered some status deprivation by continuous denigrating remarks and innuendos from friends and neighborhoods. Rumors of violent acts, disruptive behavior and speculation about poor education quality were rampant among the white community who know very little about the environment within the schools. Moreover, there were many public officials, influential citizens and even public school teachers who enrolled their children in private academies which lends further evidence that parents could expect little for their efforts to support public education. Thus, as we have attempted to demonstrate in this case study of Crossover High, school flight has continued but at a slower rate each year.

Clearly the issue was not entirely safety or academic quality but more a concern over perceived social status. The greatest show of resources at CHS continued to be invested in those students being prepared in the college-bound track. The classes were smaller, teachers better prepared and a more conscious effort was made to hold rigorous demands.

The focus in the classroom was largely on cognitive development and preparation for college entrance examinations. Rarely was classroom discipline used in the college track classroom and student disruption was rare. When students were not self-motivated, the teacher could contact the student's parents for additional support in attempting to shape the individual in line. As one teacher explained, "I can still hold their feet to the fire." A rough comparison of time spent in these classrooms on cognitive development over that spent in the other tracks was more than 75% greater. Moreover, students in these classes did consistently better on the ACT and SAT tests for college entrance. Indeed, the SAT scores for the entire MCSS ran at or above the national average.

The gap between the college bound students and the rest of the school population on ACT scores was dramatic. And this quantifiable difference can be attributed largely to the inordinate amount of resources and effort received by this track. The teachers were better prepared, demand and received more effort from the students, and obtained more rewards (i.e., status and emotional) for their effots.

It has also been demonstrated that the personal safety of pupils in the college track was not threatened. Phycical contact between the tracks was minimized through most of the school day. When periods of casual activity occurred, i.e., lunch period, between classes or after school, separation by groups was nearly complete through the informal structure. Certain territory was claimed by individual groups. Generally, these territories were well supervised by teachers sympathetic to each particular group, whether it was the home economics classroom, the yearbook staff facilities, student government office, chess club, gym or ROTC. Even the lunch room was informally structured to avoid conflict. The smoke porch was the only area which carried a potential for students acting out aggressive attitudes, and students from the college track could and did discretely avoid this area.

White female students consistently stated that they do not feel threatened in any area including the restrooms. Nor did any of them admit to being in a situation with other students where they felt physically threatened or that they could not handle. As one put it, "If a boy hassels me, all I have to do is inform the principal and it ends." It should be added, these students have had complete access to the principal's office at any time. In brief, there is ample evidence that safety and academic standards were not factors in the continuing loss of the white middle-class students in the upper track. Rather, it was a combination of growing student frustration over not being

able to control extracurricular activity to the degree they did in the past, i.e., not being a queen, a class president, prom leader, etc. Also, the dwindling number of students and subsequent lack of opportunities in a large dominate group provided a feeling of isolation. Most important, it was the increasing awareness of being assigned to a lower social status by significant others in the wider community that appeared to be the most threatening. The community was and is beginning to believe the rumors that these schools are inferior.

Closing the Neighborhood School

This study has indirectly reflected on the importance of neighborhood schools. It can be argued that the closing of Feeder High School has hurt the Feeder Community and many of its pupils. The old school represented a significant institution in the community. It provided entertainment, activity, pride and a strong sense of identity for many people. Teachers and administrators admitted to having once been a part of the community, indeed some lived there and all felt welcome in business establishments and recreational facilities. Most were familiar with the personal links many students have to adult networks. This understanding was important and could be used as an additional support to "shape up or turn an individual student around." Parent Band and athletic booster clubs were active. Moreover, blue-collar young adults who do not go on to college then look back on "their high school" as sources of

identity and pride. A significant oral tradition had developed in the past around the Feeder School, weaving it into the social fabric of the community. Sadly, this community-school image faded when Feeder was closed. Neither CHS nor other existing institutions has been able to fill the void in Feeder for the past five years.

It was evident that most Feeder students and their parents have not been able to shift their identity to CHS. It was still viewed as a "white school" in spite of the fact it was predominately Black. Parents no longer felt they had access to teachers or administrators even if they had transportation to the school. Teachers were alienated and hence, frustrated by what they perceive as a lack of cooperation from parents. Now, only a few teachers feel comfortable enough to go into the Feeder community; for example, only one teacher actively continued to live there. More than a few of the teachers viewed the Feeder community people as somewhat backward. In other words, desegregation policy has moved the school out of this quasi-rural enclave where it was a significant community institution into a relationship more in common with that of a typically large impersonal urban school well removed from community interest, in a sense a representation of an external power. One has to weigh the trade-offs here, the cost-benefit, and ask if the loss of this viable institution with all its potential for political leverage and personal satisfying relationships is actually worth the achievements obtained in desegregation.

Future Options for Memphis

If we extend this cost-benefit analysis beyond the Feeder community to the entire city, it becomes evident that the failure to hold many middle-class whites was a severe setback for future development. According to U.S. Census 1972, Memphis was the second poorest city in the U.S. It has not been able to generate the same viable economic growth experienced by most large cities of the "Sun Belt." A variety of reasons have been expressed for this situation, and probably all of them have some degree of validity. The bottom line, however, always ends with a statement about the race relations. Both racial groups tend to face-off on all the major policy issues. An illustration of this opposition was reviewed in Chapter 4 in the litigation of school desegregation. The white School Board spent enormous amounts of resources and effort for 20 years attempting to evade the Brown decision. In so doing, the Board nearly lost sight of what public education was about. Generally, instead of facing the issue of what is good for Memphis, many policy decisions are debated on narrow interest goals. In short, the economy continues to drift, critical jobs are lost from the labor market, and city revenue shrinks.

This economic trend, coupled with a rising expectation of young Blacks, is creating a major crisis which leadership cannot solve. Urban Blacks carry no intentions of living out their lives providing low status services to whites. Currently the unemployment among young Black males is over 35 percent.

As Blacks respond with demands for a more equal share of the resources, whites tend to retrench. For instance, surveys of whites indicate that more than 75 percent feel Blacks have already received too many advantages in their civil rights demands. The large Wallace vote in both 1972 and 1976 is one expression of their fears and frustrations. Unlike northern cities, Blacks are an important part of the Memphis economy, if only at the secondary level. Whites view the gains by Blacks as a threat to their own access to available resources. Thus this city with its southern charm is immobilized by a deep apprehension; the racial groups fear each other. Mass school flight in 1972 is symptomatic of this terror. Further, the boundary maintenance described in the student subsystem in Part II is a micro scale of what is taking place in the wider community.

There have been positive factors derived from school desegregation, however. Although mixing has not changed racial attitudes among the students, it has tended to reduce the degree of terror for the whites and Blacks involved in the process. Some Black students have learned they can outperform whites or at least survive in interracial interaction. White students have learned to cope in situations in which they find themselves a minority. They have learned to discriminate on criteria other than race in personal relationships. In short, the level of terror has been reduced significantly for students who have remained in the public schools.

The same observation cannot be made for students who attend private academies. It is too soon to evaluate the quality of education they receive but racial separation is nearly complete. This environment cannot provide a realistic experience for a city which is nearly 50 percent Black. Casual observation and interviews of the graduates of these private academies indicate they have little tolerance in situations in which they have to deal directly with Blacks. These young adults tend to fear Blacks even more than their parents. The following event was described by a white CHS senior girl and is offered as an illustration of this argument:

> "Jane and I were out with a bunch of girls from a private school. We were parked at a drive-in restaurant when several Blacks drove up and parked beside us. The private school girls immediately began closing the windows and locking the doors. We were dumbfounded; we couldn't believe it. We asked them what they were doing. Why were they so scared."

This quote is offered as only one of many examples of the fear.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the data do not indicate extensive change achieved by merely providing balanced race ratios in schools. It is evident that Crossover High remained, for all practical purposes, segregated by race and socioeconomic class. As one student evaluated the situation, "All the segregation in the city was put in one building... . What we have here is two schools under one roof." However, this situation could have been changed eventually as administration and the teaching staff

gained greater competency in dealing with desegregation. Unfortunately, a critical mass of white students could not be held in the system long enough to insure success of the experiment. After five years, CHS only has about 55 white students out of a total of 425, in its regular program. The white students who have remained have adjusted to their minority status. The over-class Black students have achieved success and status in the student subsystem.

Much remains to be done in insuring equal opportunity and results for the underclass whites and Blacks. They are in the school but not of the school. The over-class student, whatever the race, succeeds in the education process. It is the underclass students, those from families in the peripheral areas of society, who have to be integrated into the school society. But it is evident that this task can only be accomplished when there is some guarantee of a payoff in education by insuring a respectable place in the labor market.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Obviously, any recommendations based upon a single field study, even an indepth one, must be tentative. Yet there are considerations that need further exploration and attention that have emerged from the study of Crossover High School, and further, each have research and policy dimensions that are seemingly intertwined. We have five major recommendations:

1. School desegregation has been treated by researchers and policy makers as a school district phenomenon. Yet the study of CHS suggests that the meaning and impact of desegregation is affected significantly by climates within single schools. Being concerned with Black/white ratios does little to understand desegregation or equality of educational opportunity. The more salient characteristics of desegregation concern levels of instruction, general school system policy, and "good" educational practices that are not usually understood to be part of the desegregation effort. Researchers, courts and policy makers need to pay attention to these factors as they affect desegregation and resegregation within the school.

2. Desegregation has generally been seen as opposed to neighborhood schools. This unfortunately ignores the role of the school in the life of the community it serves. Particularly, it seems that schools which serve lower and working class communities may be a major source of community identity, pride and commitment to education. Desegregation decisions again are

made with little community input at the school district level, and usually ignore such factors. In short, researchers, courts and policy makers should take a closer look at which schools should be desegregated, and in which manner to maximize community commitment to public education and the local school.

3. Teaching staffs and principals should be carefully prepared to implement desegregation. Generally, standards of equality are not negotiable and are not responsive to ethnic diversity and educational backgrounds. Few teachers are able to incorporate these concerns into designing course work that also is of some rigor. At CHS, they had minimal support in this and unfortunately minimal understanding.

4. As part of #3, it seems that the definition of integration employed for this study, one that approaches the notion of cultural pluralism, is not being systematically addressed. Cultural pluralism where it could be seen in CHS was more cultural segregation than anything else. When the various cultures interacted usually, one style was rewarded to the detrement of the others. Primarily, schooling was an affront to the cultural and ethnic heritages of Black and lower class students.

5. Seemingly, desegregation has been treated as an isolated intervention within the community. Yet it has been heralded as a mechanism to solve the economic and political problems of the entire community, and particularly a vital step in guaranteeing equality of occupational opportunity. Yet, like affirmative action programs, it misses the point. Education

and the world of work are based in assimilative logics that were designed to discriminate against somebody. As such it is a remedial effort that has little more promise than the remedial efforts employed in the lower levels of instruction to upgrade students for admission to accelerated curricula. At CHS and in the MCSS, they fail if this is their goal. Desegregation also will not pass this test unless the political economy which supports existing stratification is restructured in its basic assumptions and practices.

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